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sash on one arm; he may not take the cup with that hand or he will be fined. When he has had his cup the chiefs of the various villages drink also. At Thakombau's installation Ndaulakemba and Metuisela's father each took one end of a sash, folded it, and tied it on the Vunivalu's arm, saying, "Let the bark cloth be tied to be the cloth of your food, the cloth of your riches, also reverence him since he is your lord." Then those who made the kava retired. The two men then brought four hundred whale's teeth; they walked up to the chief carrying them, and half way each crossed over to the other side. The chief held out his arms sideways and they hung whale's teeth upon them till he could no longer bear the weight, then he put them down. Then they loaded his arms again. The nobles of Mbau took off their clothes to those who made the kava. Each man got one bale.

On the day on which the chief drinks until the drinking is over it is forbidden to anyone to go out of doors or for any child to cry. This lasts four nights. After fetching water the men come to the house and call out, "Water!" then the people inside open the door, and one or two big jars are brought in; then the door is shut so that no one may go out. Kava is made at the beginning of the night, then again at cockcrow. This is repeated on four successive nights. During those nights the Vunivalu and Ndaulakemba sleep out of doors. All those nights no lights are allowed out of doors, and if any canoe come in sight the men go out and seize it. That is why the kava is feared, for any one caught outside is fined. At the end of the four nights the chief bathes; then they fire off muskets so that the whole land may hear that he has bathed; then all the people are set free and anyone who wishes to come to Mbau by sea or land may come. When the chief of Mbau was about to bathe, the men of Soso and of Lasakau used to go secretly to some village and kill a man for the bathing. Of old they had men for the bathing feast. The body was offered up to the chiefs of Levuka, baked and eaten.

OFFERINGS

Food and manufactured articles are continually and on all occasions being offered up with prescribed ceremonials. The general term for making a presentation of food or other articles is "to make a feast, to make goods" (*vala mangiti, vala i yau*). The term *vakathambo* refers more particularly to the act and formula of offering up. This ceremonial is the foundation of all Fijian ceremonial.

If it is a ceremonial gift, the person to whom it is offered sits cross-legged at the upper end of the room, if it is indoors, with his herald at his side. Those making the presentation come and sit with legs crossed near the door; their herald crawls forward and sits down cross-legged opposite the recipient, and lays down the gift (some old men kneel with knees apart and sit on their heels); the herald claps his hands with palms crossed, perhaps five times, bends forward and, laying both hands on the gift, says,

Hm, a small [names the article] I am touching here [again names the article] for you the gentleman of So-and-so. It is well known to you that our land is a poor land, a land of famine, where not a tree grows. Just what we have found we have brought. If it is small bear with it. My speech is lengthy, let it be offered up and emerge.[11]

[11] The last sentence is fixed; in Fijian it runs: *"Sa mbalambalavu a nggou vosa ka sosora thake tu yani ka vuuure."* *Sosora* is a ceremonial word; *soraki* is Rewan for *vakathambori*.

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He draws out the last syllable but one, and then pushes forward the offering. All present say, "*E.*" The recipient's herald claps hands, touches the offering and says, "I touch the [article] that has jumped from you, the gentlemen of So-and-so; so let us be in health and concord, and let the work of the Church and the Government increase."

He quickens his pace and raises his voice to a shout over the last sentence. Then all exclaim, "Mana, e indina, amunduo, munduo, nduo" (Be it effective, let it be true).[12] The people having thus exclaimed clap hands slowly, as always in ceremonial.

The speech of presentation is always long. While the theme is always the same—we are poor, we are offering the best we have, so do not be angry—the details are left to the speaker. Thus I once heard the Lord of Tumbou say, "It is known that our land consists of small islands, and the surf beats the top of the hills; there are only small plants; there are no big plants." The reason why kava and all "noble" (*vakaturanga*) things are offered up ceremonially is that the chief may not be angry if anything goes wrong. It is the custom to depreciate what is offered, thus a large cloth is called shreds (*mandra ni ngatu*); a towel, a thing to rub (*ka ni solo*); a good cloth is a rag (*i suai*); a mat becomes thatch (*ndra ni timbi*); and a whale's tooth, a small tooth; puddings are described as food with sauce (*i pekepeke*).

The acknowledgment is short. While no part of it is fixed, nowadays, it usually contains a reference to the Church and State, if there is no more particular object, otherwise it contains a prayer on behalf of the donors' intentions as "may the object for which you have come be attained," or "may our discussion succeed," or "let the wind be fair to Oneata." Before a Provincial Council, the Lord of Tumbou acknowledged a presentation to the High Chief thus: "Let the decisions and the dispersal be clean, and let the health of our chief be good."

Manufactured articles presented on great occasions (*solevu*) are called *kamunanga* when acknowledged; the herald who receives it on touching it calls out *kamunaaanga*, then he utters the prayer, "The *kamunanga* brought by you, etc." Kava is acknowledged as *i sevusevu* (first fruits).

Whale's teeth when offered up are not placed on the ground, the one who presents them holding them by the cord, supporting them from underneath with his other hand. After offering they are handed to the receiving chief who takes them by the cord and passes them to his herald, who holding them in the same manner as the giver, touches them with his nose.

Offerings are described by various terms according to their purpose; the

[12] I do not know the meaning of *amundwo*, but it is a common ceremonial exclamation throughout Fiji.

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term is almost invariably an instrumental noun formed with the prefix *i*, such as *i soro:* entirely gift, offering made to avert the anger of a god or nobleman, or to beg for peace; *i vakamamatha:* a change of clothes, a present to a traveller on his arrival; *i sere ni ndali*: loosener of the rope, a present made in return for a turtle.

There are four kinds of *soro*, or entreaty: entreaty plain and simple; the spearpoint or arrow head; finger cutting; giving a woman in marriage to a nobleman.

Simple entreaty consists in whale's teeth or a hundred fathom sheet of bark cloth (*katundrau*). If, for instance, a village were to kill the Chief's pigs or treat his sons badly they would beg for mercy through the Land Chief or the Lord of Tumbou. If those two enter the house and the Chief looks their way they offer up the entreaty gift; if those chieftains do not attend it cannot be acceptable. They hold four or five whale's teeth and say, "This is a little tooth I am holding here; graciously grant that our men may live. We have found a thing to bring to you; have pity on me, who am the elder of our clan, that I, your man, may live. My speech is lengthy, etc." The chief will speak and say why he is angry, but that he will be well disposed. If he does not speak, it is not approved (*ndonu*).

The spear point is more serious. The arrow head (*mata ni ngasau*) appears to be interchangeable with the spear point. All witnesses agree that they are equally serious. In this entreaty the people besides whale's teeth, bring a spear, or a reed, or an arrow. The people sit at the back and the herald, Lord of Tumbou, Vaka, or Envoy to Mbau, lays down the spear or arrow. If the chief will not accept it he says, "No," when they attempt to pick it up; if he will accept it, he does not speak. The spear is not offered up with the usual words (*vakathambori*) but the herald puts the whale's teeth on the mat and shouldering the spear with the point towards the chief, walks up on his knees saying, *"O oa."* He then lays the spear down; the chief takes it and speaks. This method of entreaty appears not to have been very common as the witnesses, even the heralds, appear to have been vague about it; I have given just the substance.

One informant says the cutting off of fingers is graver than the spear point. Should a chieftain offend (*siri*), the little finger of his child, grandchild, or younger brother, is cut off and stuck on a reed. "Then it is right."

If the spear point fails, a woman is brought. Sometimes a nobleman is angry with an ulterior motive, and rejects their entreaties in order that they may bring the girl he desires. Only a lady of the country that entreats can be brought as a propitiatory gift. Her son may become Sau. Tuimereke is the son of a lady of Oneata who was so brought to Taliai, and Tuimereke should have been Sau.

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Informants are not agreed as to the scale of gravity of these various forms of entreaty. Smearing the body with ashes to entreat is practised in Mbau, not in Lau.

Cutting soil (*ta nggele*) is the propitiatory gift (*i soro*) of war. The soil is presented that the land may be given to the victorious land.

There is also a form of individual entreaty. A man will kiss, or rather sniff, a nobleman's foot; after kissing he claps hands. The nobleman asks, "What?"

The man says, "It is I, sir, your servant; be gracious, sir, and let me live. The grievous things I have done are very many; so they are condemned. Be gracious and help me in this." Even for a minor offense for which the man has no fear of being killed, he uses this form of speaking.

When Tui Naiau returns to Lakemba after a journey, his people go on board and make an offering called weighing the anchor (*thavu i kelekele*). Tui Tumbou presents some whale's teeth saying, "A little tooth to pull up the anchor; be gracious, lords, and come ashore, and come and change your clothes here. My speech is lengthy, etc."

When the visitors come ashore, the elders assemble at Great House for the wading ashore ceremony (*nggalonggalovi*). All sit as for a kava ceremony. First two men, kneeling and bending forward, bear a long cadjan on their fore arms. After saying, "*Ŏ ŏă*," they advance simultaneously on their knees, swaying right and left. They deposit the mat before the person honored and retire backwards on their knees. This offering is called *taki tambakau* (*taki*, to carry a tray) and the mat in this connection is called *ndraundrau ni vanua* (tray of the land). This custom is peculiar to Lau. Next a man loads a bunch of coconuts on his back and advances on his knees, stopping three or four times to say "*O oa.*" Depositing the bunch before the visitor, he offers it up in the usual manner. This is called *thavu niu* (pulling up the coconuts); the bunch is ceremoniously called *vono*. The recipient's herald touches the nuts and calls out "*Vono!*" A custom also peculiar to Lau. A large ball of coir string is then presented, followed by whales' teeth, some of which are called *i nggalonggalovi;* others *i vakamamatha.*

In offering the wading gift to the Governor of Fiji, Tui Tumbou would say: "A little tooth, our wading gift to you, the Lord Governor; be good enough to cherish us, the people of your province of Lau; for our land is poor and there are few yams. My speech, etc." Then comes the change of clothes: "Hm. A little tooth, Lord Governor, your change of clothes. Be gracious. The change of clothes is small; still what we could get, we have bought, etc." Whales' teeth called "the presentation for hauling down the pennant" (*i luva ni tauvake*) are offered; I do not know whether on

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board or at Great House. Lastly, comes a large root of kava, which is presented by a herald in the usual way.

The term "calling on one another" is sometimes used in the sense of a wading ceremony, but it is a distinct part of the reception. According to a Totoya man, it has only recently been given up. The herald would say, "Let us call to them," then begin a speech expressing pleasure at the nobleman's presence, ending *"ē."* The nobleman would call out,"

"Seven times," and his herald add,

"Eight."

When all the presentations have been made, a state kava is served in Fijian style. Then comes a feast. If Roko Sau is returning from abroad, it is called the waiting feast (*i wawa*). I was present at one such feast.

The people of Natokalau came upon the Green, first led by the Tui Ra of Yandrana; each man carried a yam and laid it down; the chief of Naiau, the Chief of Ono, and the Government chief of Fulanga sat together to receive the yams. When this was finished, the Chief of Naiau turned to Roko Sau and said, "By your leave, I will touch it," and then called out "Mangiitii (Feast). The High Chief told Tui Tumbou to tell the three chiefs (who were close enough to hear) to dispose of the feast as it was theirs. The Natokalau people then performed a Fijian club dance, which was followed by a Tongan dance by Navuaira.

When the High Chief visits one of the Southern Islands, for the wading ceremony a bunch of coconuts is presented; to the smaller nobles and to their own chiefs on their return home, the islanders present only one mature, unhusked nut. The base of the nut is turned towards the chief's herald, whose part it is to turn it towards his chief. Then came the "calling on one another." One of the elders calls to the chiefs,

"You are welcome, sirs, the gentlemen that have come by the sea." Adding, "I have come to hear news."

The herald on the other side then describes the journey; at each sentence the elder remarks, "Good." At the close of the account the elder makes answer, which, on the occasion I am describing, I did not hear, but which doubtless corresponds to the formula of "steering the report," which is used in Viti Levu. The herald of the travellers presents kava to the elders of the place saying, for instance,

"The first fruit offering. The first fruit offering of the Lord of Namuka, to you elders, the elders who stayed at home. Let us live in mutual love, let us live in harmony. My speech, etc." The elder answers in this manner:

"I touch your first fruit offering, Lord of Namuka; let Heaven be pro-

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pitious, let the Government be propitious, and let there be a fair wind for the journey."

Then follows a small feast prepared by the people of the place for the travellers.

When a lady is to be welcomed, the ceremony is particularly impressive. A woman sits on either side of the visitor, the other women sit facing her and clap, then sing out, "The greenheart tree has drifted [hither]," [18] to which the two women answer, "*E, e,*" and clap. This is followed by the mat carrying (*taki tambakau*), two ladies bearing a mat in the same way as described for the men (p. 73). Then comes the wading present of whales' teeth and other gifts.

In Tumbou, the wading ceremony and calling on one another is done only for the Tui Naiau, his eldest sister, her son, and for the Vunivalu of Mbau or his wife, but not for his family. It is not done for Randi Naiau unless she belongs to Lakemba. In the Southern Islands it is only done for a noble of Tumbou or for their own local chief.

FEASTS

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A feast, *mangiti,* is always made for presentation to some one, not to regale oneself. There are raw feasts and cooked feasts. Feasts are never boiled (except sauce for the puddings), but cooked in hot stones; hence a small private feast is often called an oven (*lovo*).

The basis of a feast is taro or yams. Yam feasts are the most common, but not so highly esteemed. If a husband provided only yams at his wedding, the wife would say, "Don't be proud; you had only a yam feast."

Yams are counted by pieces, for instance 16 pieces per clan. Pieces are ends, for the small yams are cut in two, the large ones cut in three and only ends are used because it is not respectful to present the middle; it is like cutting into small pieces for the pot, like bringing them without ceremony. As delicacies pigs are served always at big feasts; beef, fresh or tinned, though less esteemed, is often substituted because easier to procure; fish wrapped in leaves with an outer covering of coconut leaf, the fronds tied together at the ends are provided; also puddings of mashed taro or breadfruit with sugar-cane sauce. As soon as the puddings for a feast are ready, one is quickly taken to Great House for approval; it is called the tip of the oven (*vuso ni lovo*).

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When the feast is cooked the food is placed in baskets of plaited coconut leaves; each man hangs a basket on either end of a stick and so carries them on his shoulder to the gathering place.

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[18] The green heart tree, *vesi*, is the finest, the most honored in Fiji.

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574 The Yandrana people claim that if the nobles came for a feast to their village, the Yandrana folk, as "teeth" (*mbati*) took no part in carrying the share of the feast of the land to Tumbou; it formerly was forbidden to call upon them to do so, for this was the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, but now they may not refuse because of the law of disobedience instituted by the British government.

574 462 252 Feasts, like all food cooked in hot stones, are prepared by the men. Guests are often honored by a breakfast of boiled food prepared, like all boiled food, by the women. The women come in single file to the guest's house, each bearing on her arm a tray of plaited coconut leaf called *i lalakai* and perhaps a gipsy pot containing fish boiled in coconut cream. The women enter the house and lay the food before the guests. This custom is called *takitaki* (carrying trays).

FESTIVALS OR POTLATCHES

Lauan Style

431 574 The word festival is a convenient translation of the word *solevu*, but it does not express its essence, which is a ceremonial exchange of presents between two groups with the accompaniment of feasts, often dances, and sometimes cricket. Perhaps the American word potlatch best renders its essential character of a competition between two teams. The word apparently is composed of *so*, to score in a game, and *levu*, big; it is therefore a "great competition," and in fact a competitive spirit dominates these festivals. The side that gives most is said to be victorious (*nggangga*); the other is beaten (*ndruka*).

The following account has been obtained:

The visitors present their stuff, first piling it up in the open. Then one of their nobles, holding up a whale's tooth, or teeth, speaks: "*Ia*, little tooth."

The other party, the hosts, then exclaim, "*Woi! woi!*"

He begins again: "A little tooth."

The others cry out "*A woi! woi!* great whale's tooth, *oi!*" (Some people go wrong here and shout this after the first time.) If the potlatch is on the occasion of disregarding mourning (*vakataraisulu*) the visitor proceeds, "The towel (*ka ni solo*) to make things right for so and so at his death. We who are forbidden [ordinary] clothes, we come and take off our clothes to you that we may love one another. My speech is long, etc." A nobleman from the other side stands up and takes the whale's teeth, and cries out, "*kamunganga.*"

The hosts answer "*oi, oi, oi.*"

The visitor continues (*kamunganga*), and makes a short speech. He then hands the teeth over to his heralds, who receives them sitting, kisses them, and prays over them (*masulaki*). The people who are going out of mourning have wrapped themselves round with good new bark cloth; which they now remove and lay down before their hosts. This is a common custom at potlatches and is described as "taking off one's clothes to So-and-so." It would be disrespectful for a herald to present the

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whale's teeth in the manner of other offerings, for this would imply that the nobleman did not know how to speak. If only the herald speaks on the side of the givers, only the herald will speak on the other side also.

When the visitors are about to take leave, the hosts hold a send-off festival (*soleyu ni talatalathi*). Should the people of Tumbou be sending off Tongans, they bring a feast which is piled up (*kele*) for the Tongans, who divide it. The time is then set for bringing manufactured articles, when they bring hardware (*i yau kaukaua*) in the following order: coir rope, kava bowls, head rests, on the top of which they place bales of Fijian sheets of bark cloth (*ngatu*). These are called the presents of the feast (*i yau ni mangiti*). The hosts then go to clothe themselves, and returning sit facing the Tongans. One man stands up before the gentlemen and opening his speech in the manner described above, continues:

A small tooth and a few bits of wood [wooden wares] that lie here, and a few thatch leaves [meaning mats] there, and a few towels that lie about, the send-off for you, our kinsmen who have come from Tonga. If it is little, bear with it. I know that the times have changed; moreover the present time is a time when all wares (*i yau*) are exhausted; at the present time there are other lords that rule the land, Great Britain; they restrain our hand; we do not know the plaiting of mats. But you bear with it; we are kinsmen; let us love one another, etc. My speech is lengthy, etc.

The guests answer "*e*," and one of their noblemen stands up, receives the whale's teeth as described above and says, "The gifts (*kamunanga*) brought from you, gentlemen, gifts of concord" and so on, then he choses for the winding-up some remark such as, "Let the path to Tonga be clear." Then the Tongans bring a coconut (*vono ni kamunanga*) which is prayed over in the usual way.[15] Both guests and hosts then stand up and shake hands. The Tumbou people pile their shirts on the top of the goods and retire.

In December, 1911, I witnessed a ceremonial exchange between Tumbou and Ale.

The chief of Ale in Kandavu, who had been appointed by the government head of the province of Kandavu, had married the elder sister of the present High Chief's mother. His wife and Ratu Finau were therefore first cousins according to European reckoning, brother and sister according to Fijian custom. Ratu Finau's daughter was called after this lady, and when this child died the chief of Ale and his wife proposed to come and hold a potlatch in Lakemba.

The festival was none too popular in Lakemba because there never had been a potlatch between Lakemba and Kandavu; they are not related; it was purely a personal affair of Ratu Finau, who passed it on to the ladies to be their festival. They provided the stuff and received the stuff from the Kandavu people. Ratu Finau did not do it by way of command, but by way of kinship.

A long time ahead the ladies were busy preparing sheets (*ngatu*) and oil. At last on December the 10th a small party from Kandavu came. They were lodged in Vatuwangga, Ratu Finau's large house. On their arrival they offered as earnest or first fruit (*i sevuseyu*) a huge kava root which stood as high as a man's chest.

[15] This must be a mistake. At the festival I witnessed the coconut was presented by the givers. The ending of the prayer would also be more appropriate to the other side.

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Next morning about half-past ten the ladies assembled between Yangasa and Vunisavisavi with provisions laid on trays and covered with banana or breadfruit leaves. Headed by Samuela, the herald, they advanced in single file and as they entered Ratu Finau's compound sang out *ninggo,* entered his house by the west door and set down the provisions. Ratu Finau and the gentlemen of Lakemba were not present. The herald offered up (*vaka-thambo*) the food in the usual style. A Kandavu man touched it, gave a peculiar and prolonged clapping and chanted: "Feast; kava as relish."

Then the Kandavu people said, "Good, good," and the Lakemban party dispersed.

The ladies of Tumbou then dressed in red or in blue gowns, and wrapping themselves round the waist with sheets of Tongan cloth (*ngatu*), drew up in two files on the south side of the compound, the red on the left, the blue on the right, Salesi's wife leading one of the files. Then they entered the compound and as they passed the gate they again sang out, *ninggo,* and wheeled—the red to the left, the blue to the right—and going round joined into a single rank, and sat down facing the guests, who were sitting in a line with their backs against plinth of the house.

One lady said, "Let us call to them" (*tou kathi manda yani*) and the whole line bent forwards and with clasped hands outstretched said:

"The green heart tree has floated hither" (*e thiri mai o vesi*).

The ladies sat up, and again bent forward as before and said, "*e.*" They all arose, took off their bark cloth, and piled it up before the guests. A Kandavu man brought a large kava root and offered it up, and the herald touched it. A Kandavu man then sat down by the pile of bark cloth and chanted "*kamunanga,*" while another man sat down on the other side; both clapped, and removed the cloth. The ladies retired.

This is the ceremony of "wading" or "calling" as performed for a lady. Properly, a woman from among the heralds should have led the calling, but the woman of Narewandamu did not know how to speak. It was not considered right to do it for the Kandavu lady, as she is not a lady of the land.

Later in the day notables of Lakemba came and sat down in a row in front of the District Chief's house. The Kandavu people filed in with raw mulberry bark for making bark cloth. They were greeted with cries of "Thanks for the mulberry bark! A land great in planting mulberry. *Uru uru uru.*" The Kandavu people retired.

A pause ensued during which the elders of Lakemba occasionally exclaimed, "Good, good."

Presently the Kandavu people, assisted by some of the chief's household, reappeared with mats which they set down to the cries of, "Thanks for the plaiting. Well done, Lady Kelera, lady . . .," and so forth. They came

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back a third time and the Lakemba people warmed up and cried, "Good. It's a sugar to me." 431 574

The Lakembans grew hilarious; one cried, "Sefanaia, you are sugar to Motea [Peni's wife]." One lady took a Kandavu man by the arm; great merriment. Young Kandavu men came in to dance; and the Lakembans cried, *ururu* in a high pitch, and rapidly patting their mouths, and screeching *iii* at the end. The dancers sat down facing the elders, but the ladies cried out, "Face this way." They danced the *vakamalolo*, after which a gentleman of Ale came forward with a bunch of teeth and stood before the elders of Lakemba. He offered them in the manner described on page 79, making the customary speech.

The High Chief's father's brother then stood up, took the whale's teeth and made a speech, saying that Lakemba was a small land, and so on, ending, "and let it be offered up and emerge."[186] While he was speaking the gentleman from Kandavu remained standing. Tui Tumbou then received the teeth and made a longer speech to the effect that Lakemba was a small land whereas Kandavu was the longest in Fiji. Then the people said *amunduo*, etc. At this point the women and children made off with great noise to the indignation of the elders, who said it was behaving like country-folk. 431 574 537

Then the head of the senior branch of Tanggalavu brought a mature coconut and offered it up to the gentlemen of Kandavu. The Ale herald sang out *vono*. Kava was then brought, and the Tumbou man offered it up, saying it was only a small festival, but Kandavu was a great place for paper mulberry. The Ale herald acknowledged. Then the elders retired after asking the Kandavu lady that the dancers might face the ladies. The dancers then danced to the rapid beat of a wooden drum held on the forearms of a boy. The women crowded round them; some came and kissed them. One lady came and put a calico over the head of a Kandavu man amid cries of, *"Wela! wela! wela!"* The women tied silk handkerchiefs round the dancers' necks. The Kandavu men seemed to get very excited. 431 574 535

After the dance all the men retired and the ladies sat down facing the gifts. The mats were divided according to what each division had contributed to the presents intended for the guests. The wife of the chief of the clan of nobles directed the operations and a lady of Tanggalevu made the heaps. They did not count the total and divide proportionately, but simply counted the mats as they laid them on the heaps, keeping them in a certain proportion. When all was ready, another lady struck each heap with a piece of mulberry bark and called out the recipients. 431 574

The High Chief did not appear at the ceremony. If Mbau or Thakaun-

[186] This was a blunder which was afterward severely criticized.

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drove were the visitors he would have taken part; but this festival he had passed on to the ladies.

Next day was the "send off" (*italathi*). The pig, taro, puddings, and kava were collected outside Yangasa and taken over to Great House. As they entered the gate the men said, *"O, oa."* The taro was set down and transferred from the usual rough basket (*kato*), plaited for the occasion, into big round ones. Then the Lakembans sat down and clapped, and Semi of Tumbou went to sit before the Kandavu people to offer it up. The Kandavu people kept interjecting, "Tambu, Tambu." Their herald then came to sit beside the pig, laid hands upon it, sat up, gave a prolonged clapping, and bending forward sang out, "A little feast, pig and kava to go with it." Then the Tumbou people withdrew, leaving the Kandavu party to cut up the pig.

Throughout no one on the Lakemban side thought of coming to talk with the Kandavu people or making friends with them; and the Kandavu people kept very much together, remaining inside the compound of Great House, because they were not related to the Lakemba people.

Late in the day the ladies began to collect bottles of oil at Salesi's house. The cowhide drum was beaten for the third time, and ladies filed into Roko Sau's enclosure with a *ninggo,* and laid the bottles in a row at the foot of the plinth. The Kandavu party sat on the top of the plinth, singing snatches of their dance. The High Chief was looking on from inside. The sheets of bark cloth were brought in. A pause was punctuated by the Kandavu people with "Good, good."

Then a small sheet was brought in; a nobleman of Naivi stood up with whale's teeth in his hand; two ladies wrapped the sheet round his waist and he presented the teeth with words to this effect, "Now the times have changed. This is a small land. This is a path that we may visit one another hereafter. We are related to the lady. This is to clear the path, etc."

A man of Kandavu received the teeth, saying, "I touch this small tooth . . . and let the church grow." His herald clapped a prolonged clap and sang out *"kamunanga."* The Naivi nobleman left his bark cloth behind; Kandavu men came up, clapped, and removed it.

The dancers assembled at the east end of the Green. The dance was over at half-past six. At the end of it the men and the women presented their girdles of bark cloth or other ornaments to the Kandavu people. A few tied handkerchiefs round their necks. The Kandavu party left next day.

One New Year a ceremonial exchange was held between the young folk of Tai and of Tumbou. The young folk of Tai so warmed up to it that

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they wanted another, but Tumbou could not stand the strain; the Tui Tumbou confessed himself beaten, and presented an entreaty gift to the Roko Sau in order that it might not be held again. 431 574

At ceremonial exchanges in connection with weddings and births one side brings stuff to the other's quarters; the other side brings theirs to the house of the first, and so they go backwards and forwards several times. This is called carrying to and fro (*vcikauyaki*).

There is a variety of ceremonial exchange called *veisa*, or pairing off; the two parties sit facing one another, and each man exchanges with his opposite. It is an exchange by payment (*solevu saumi*); there is no fixed price, but they try to surpass one another (*veisisivi*); if one gives little he gets a bad reputation.

Tongan Style

After Tongans came the potlatches were in Tongan style. On one occasion the visitors took their bark cloth, kava, and so forth into the house and presented it to the High Chief, saying, "I have come; there is nothing we could find." In Tongan style they speak briefly; not as in Fiji, where they present whale's teeth, and speak at length, then present kava, and so on. They brought little; had they brought much every one would have got some, but only Levuka and Tumbou proper got any, and so made gifts (*vala i yau*) in return; the people who get nothing are not obliged to give anything. 431 574 177

For the send-off the Tongans sat down on the plinth of Malani's house, facing the Green. Two upright sticks were set up before the house, and between these were piled mats. The Tui Tumbou and the Chief of Nasangalau sat facing the Tongans. The Tui Tumbou stood and explained to them that the Lakembans were poor. He made a simple speech. When he had finished a Tongan rushed down the steps and made a vehement speech in Tongan. Then followed a small dance by Nasangalau and Vakano. The High Chief took no part, but sat aloof on the plinth of the house.

Song and Dance

Tongan dances

Apart from singing there is no poetry, and no singing (except church singing) apart from dancing. The word *meke* covers all; the words are the "fragments" or "sentences" of the dance (*mala ni meke*); the music is fall of the dance (*i mbalembale*); the gestures are "the face." The composition of the dance is called teaching. 533 535

There are no Lauan dances; the Lauans are masters of dancing, but 535 177

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resting on the man behind him, while the women left turned to face them and pillowed their faces on their joined hands. There were Fijian movements in these dances; but Fijian movements have been introduced into Tonga.

The fan dance is not Tongan. The fan is shaped like an ace of hearts and is made of fan palm leaf. The figures danced to the *lakalaka* beginning *"Suka koe"* were as follows:

(1) During the introduction of dancers trod, as described above, and struck the fan twice on the left palm. At the word "Suka" they stamped with the left foot forward and beat their fans at the same time, then immediately stamped with the right foot behind, bending the right leg and dropping the right hand;
(2) The dancers jumped slightly forward with the left foot foremost, and jumping back, knelt with the right knee almost touching the ground, and at the same time raised the fan to the height of the shoulder and gave a twist of the wrist. This second figure is called a break (*muru*).
(3) They stood up and marched forward holding the fan aloft and raising and depressing it with a twist at each step;
(4) Left turn and another break;
(5) The dancers stood up, pointed the fan forward, holding the lower edge with the left hand, and thrust it forward several times, while marking time with the feet;
(6) Left turn and walking back to the original position. (There were further figures the exact order of which I do not recollect.)
(7) The performers held their fans flat on a level with the face, seizing the point with the left hand, moved the hands alternately backwards and forwards while marking time with the feet.
(8) They seized the handle of the fan with both hands and pointed it upwards, turned the body slightly to the left, raised the left foot slightly, inclined the body backwards a little, and pulled the fan towards them; this was repeated on the right.

The whole is repeated again with the second stanza. All these movements are marked by a jerkiness characteristic of Fijian dancing. Each *lakalaka* is short and is repeated several times in succession; then after a pause another begins. A dance consists of several *lakalaka*. The words are always Tongan and come from Tonga; often cut short to fit the notes, they are not easily understood. Some of the subjects are: victory of one village over another in examinations; obedience to chiefs; the great festival of putting off mourning for the late Lord of Naiau; the trees of Lakemba; taking tribute to Mbau. The singers shout and when they are out of breath, which is often, take breath for a note or two and join in again.

The common people sit all round the Green at a distance from the nobles and elders. The spectators encourage the dancers with, *"Malie, maile,"* which is Tongan for good. Humorous remarks are shouted. Sometimes a spectator will go up to a dancer, usually of the opposite sex, and tie an expensive silk handkerchief round the neck or wrist. The dancers visibly warm up in response to these encouragements. Ample gestures are considered good dancing; it is considered a defect to "try and adorn one's

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dancing" with little shakes and jerks. Shyness is a cause of poor dancing among women. I found taste in dancing agrees exactly with European.

At the end of a dance some of the dancers will sometimes lay their necklaces of flowers and seeds, or their bark cloth sashes at the feet of one spectator; they have no value beyond the compliment and the fragrance. I once received in this manner a necklace of diminutive kava cups. Sometimes good painted bark cloth is thus given away. The *lakalaka* are occasionally performed indoors at night for the entertainment of visitors; and youths and maidens worked up by the day's festival go round from house to house at night to dance.

In learning a new dance, the performers sit down and sing it over and over again, until they know it; they never pick out difficult passages to practice. The movements are learned in the same way. The teacher does not attempt to correct bad dancers, or to enforce absolute uniformity of gesture. Rehearsals go on night after night, especially when there is a moon, till the early hours of the morning for the best part of the two months. The Chief of the Dance does not appear to play the part of a critic; he merely watches the rehearsals, announces the next rehearsal, decides whether the dance is sufficiently known, and so forth. When a certain proficiency has been reached, big rehearsals will be held lasting all day. The notables attend, and during the pauses retire into some house to drink kava quite informally. An interval is allowed between the final rehearsal and the performance to allow for preparations.

I have witnessed a Tongan sitting dance performed by girls in Oneata as an evening entertainment. It appears to be the original of the Fijian sitting dance, only more graceful. The same phrase is repeated again and again.

WALLIS ISLAND DANCES

The ladies of Tumbou knew a danced called *tupaki* which had come from Wallis Island through Tonga. It is danced with a paddle or wooden fan which is twirled and struck on the palm of the left hand. The chant is monotonous, unlike the melody of the *lakalaka*. This dance is mentioned by Mariner (10, vol. 1, chapt. XIII) under the name Mee too Buggi.

The people of Ono know a stick dance called *momotilo*, also from Wallis Island. The dancers squat down, each man with a short stick in either hand. After singing awhile they jump up and each man beats his sticks against one neighbor's and then another's, jumping about and changing places. Then they squat down, and after a pause begin again. While they dance two stout men run about among the ranks with short steps brandishing clubs, trying to look ridiculous.

The word *momotilo* is not known in Wallis.

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one another, and they are also expressed by different possessives; *nona* refers to manufactured articles; *kena*, food.

The term *i yau* covers all such articles as mats, bark cloth, canoes, whale's teeth ornaments, kava bowls, oil, raw mulberry bark, pots, coir. That is, however, not the etymological meaning of the word which is an instrumental derivative of *yau*, to bring—*i yau* is therefore what is brought, that which is used as gifts. It is a difficult word to translate: I shall use the terms : manufactured articles, stuff, goods, property, gifts, as may best suit.

Whale's teeth, called *tambua*, probably from *tambu*, sacred, are polished and rubbed with oil and turmeric, and thus acquire a reddish tint. They are suspended on a coir string attached at both ends. These ornaments are becoming increasingly scarce, but are still valued as potent presents.

BEGGING SYSTEM

The looseness found in the transference of land applies even more so to chattels owing to the custom of begging from one another (*kerekere*). The Fijian practice of *kerekere* is one of the corner stones of Fijian life, so much so that to translate the term as begging is erroneous, for there is no stigma attached to *kerekere;* it is a normal practice, perhaps better translated with Dr. B. Malinowski, soliciting. If there is no kava in the house a young person will be sent to beg some from neighbors. Should a man want land to plant in, he begs it; if he is in want of money, he goes to a kinsman and begs for some, or he begs for the use of the coconut trees on a certain land in order to make copra and sell it to the stores. To take an example: Taumbale, a woman of Moala, wanted money to build a house, so she came to Fane, Salesi's wife, because they were sisters on account of their mothers being sisters, and begged to use Salesi's coconut trees. She and the men who were doing the work were put up at Salesi's and took part in the family work, Taumbale helping in the household work. The day of a church collection is a great begging time, as many have to beg in order to have enough to put in the plate.

Tongans are given to beg from all and sundry; Fijians beg from kinsfolk only. Tongans are reckless in begging; Fijians have a sense of delicacy (*mandua*).

When a man comes to a kinsman with a big request he usually brings a begging gift (*i kerci*) which he offers up (*vakathumbo*) with the usual formula of apology, explaining his request and appealing to their ties of kinship. This is especially done when a village comes to make a request to a nobleman.

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It is rare that a request is refused. Excuses have to be invented. Property, in consequence, changes hands very rapidly, especially if it is anything novel. The stuff a man receives at a ceremonial exchange or festival is sometimes begged off him when he gets home. Prizes are not much of a reward, as they may not remain in the winner's hands more than a day.

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The government discourages begging and an anti-begging league was founded in 1905. The custom found a champion in the Native Gazette (11, July, 1905):

> This Fijian custom is not wholly bad; it is well merely to correct it. What is Fijian begging? Begging is the requisition (*lala*) of the common folk. See, the commons in Fiji cannot make requisitions; for requisitions are the chief's part. But what are requisitions? Requisitions are begging on a very big scale; they have not ceased, but are allowed by the law. Well, the commoner has begging as his only requisition. It is plain as day moreover that there is not much begging without return. If you come and beg my lamp because you are hard up, presently when I am hard up for clothes I shall beg some of you: so my lamp will be paid for. According to Fijian custom it is hard to refuse, because it represents paying, or trading, or the mutual aid of kinsmen. It is plain also that there are men who are humbugs (i.e. who don't play the game, but abuse the custom), because that is the way of the world. That is the end of the argument, now turn to the evil of forbidding people wholesale to beg, as you are doing; the chiefs, they are free to go on putting levies upon us but then we are undone by it since we are forbidden to beg. Who is the commoner to approach you nobles and say, "Please pay me, Sir, for what I have done, or for the food I have brought," or whatever it be? Impossible. If your requisitions cease, your calls on us (*mata*) your proclamations, your pomp (*vakaturanga*), then will begging cease.
>
> There are two forms of begging in Fiji. One is begging without return after the fashion of chiefs, that is bad and should be given up. But there is also a begging when in want which is payment for work and other things, and it is right and expedient to preserve it. But it looks as though you were prohibiting both, that we commoners may die twice in consequence we shall be made to work and it will be forbidden to us to beg in return. The ancient times were better than now. The carpenters built canoes; they worked without pay inasmuch as it was a requisition on them; they were fed while it went on, and they delivered the canoe. The feast of the workers (*otho*) was finished, but there was still to come some reward. Wait till you see some stuff in the possession of the chief; they will go and beg for it.

The Fijian is shrewd. Under an appearance of lavishness he counts the cost of everything, and if, at a ceremonial exchange for instance, he does not receive the full value of what he gave, he will take the balance in prestige and admiration. If a man cannot make a full return in kind for what he has begged, he will be under an obligation and have to do all kinds of services for his neighbor. The critics of Fijian begging all reason *a priori*. The facts are there to prove that the practice does not work as they think it should. As a matter of fact, the hard worker is always better off for his rank than the lazy man, and more influential, unless he is a man of no personality who does all the work of the clan and does not exact

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Greens

The leaves of various plants are collected by women for use as vegetables (*mboro*). There is the "true" *mboro* and a species of fern called *ota*. The Chilean pepper, cabbage, and cress have been adopted.

Kava Growing

Ava plants for the making of kava are propagated by slips; the lower joints with a bud on each are planted. Sometimes they are raised over a flat stone so that the mass of the root grows upwards; the plant then holds on to the ground only by rootlets, which spread over and round the stone.

Coconuts

The coconut tree affords a great many articles of everyday use: the root is used for dye; the stem for beams and rafters; the leaves for baskets, fans, and walls; the spathe for a torch; the reticula for sacks and strainers; the husk for coir; the shell for water bottles and cups; the flesh and kernel of the nut are good for men, pigs, and fowls.

A special name is given to each stage of the growing nut: *mataloa, sosou, mbu, kande, niu mandu* (mature nut), *vara* (sprouting nut). Special terms are also used in counting nuts.

When the owner wishes to cut copra, he reserves his coconut trees by setting up some mark, called *lele*, which usually includes portions of coconut leaves. These are merely signs and do not cause disease.

Planting Periods

The months are called moons, and are lunar months. It is impossible at the present day to get a complete Lauan calendar, as the European system has displaced the old style of reckoning time. Yam planting determines the names of most months. The month of reeds is the one in which yams are dug up. Some months or series of months are vaguely designated as "digging months" or "months of maturity" (*vula i matuā*). Some months are called after the fish that are caught at that season: thus about November comes the "great *palolo*," then the "little *palolo*," then the "great *nungga*," and the "little *nungga*": months when the yams are maturing, so there is no planting.

First Fruits

The word *sevu* has a wide meaning. It may perhaps be best rendered by the verb "to handsel," meaning "to begin a thing ceremonially." It applies chiefly however to the offering of first fruits from plantations.

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First fruits are offered for yams, taro, and ripe plantains; not manioc nor sweet yams because they are despised food. It was considered low to eat before the first fruits had been taken to the Lord of Naiau. They are offered up in the usual way.

NAVIGATION

Large canoes were in olden times housed in sheds on the shore. In dragging them to the water the "chant of the canoe" (*tama ni wangga*) was sung to keep time, the man who entoned standing between the hull and the float and patting the sides of the hull singing:

Eie eie
A mbimbi a vesi; — The Greenheart is heavy;
A wangga tambu ka thoka e. — The sacred canoe is being launched.
A i tipi ni koli i. — The dog's penis.

On the last syllable all pull.

The triangular sail consists of strips of specially made matting sewn together. It is tied between two long poles, the gaff and the boom; their meeting point, the tack, being called "the foot of the sail." The sail is hoisted by a halyard passing over the fork of the masthead, the halyard attached to the outrigger boom. The tack is placed against the ridge provided for it on the forward deck, the weight of the sail and the pressure of the wind helping to keep it in place. One halyard, the *save*, is attached to the boom. The one with which the sail is hoisted is called *i vakarewa*. (See Pl. III, *C*.)

Williams describes the manner of sailing (18, p. 85):

> I did not sail in a canoe. The canoe always sails with the outrigger to the wind; that side is spoken of as "above"; to leeward is "below." To tack, the canoe is turned around and the sail is pulled up and moved to the other end; hence tacking is described as pulling up (*thavu*).

The steering is done with a big steer oar tied between the hull and the float; it is moved from one end to the other in tacking. To put down the helm is *uli*, which is the general term for steering; to put it up, *tau*.

The points of the compass do not appear to be well defined. The south-east and thereabouts is called *theva;* it is the quarter from which the trade wind blows. North is now designated by *tokalau*, but this term is said to have extended formerly from north to east. Below, or to leeward is *ra*, a general term for west to north, as opposed to windward, above. Between *theva* and *ra* is *theva-ra*, the term said by some to extend between Naiau and Moala or between northwest and southwest. I have never heard it used of anything as far north as the northwest, for which quarter they

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The fish presently come forth to escape the poison, but being already intoxicated they move slowly. Thus they are easily speared.

Men sometimes go out with torches at low tide and hack the fish they find sleeping in the shallow waters. It is believed that a shark missed by a spear cannot be caught as he grows angry and his body becomes so hard that the spear rebounds no matter how sharp it be.

Crab Hunting

The land crab (*lairo*) is very common. It is caught and eaten whenever found, but at one time of the year it is hunted and drawn out of the holes. The crabs found in the village are not eaten because they feed on rubbish.

The coconut crab is common about Tarukua. Prawns are caught with nets by the women.

Bagging Palolo

The palolo (*mbalolo*) is a worm that lives in the sea but makes its appearance usually only once a year, sometimes twice a year, in November or December before dawn. When it does appear it swarms in such quantities in the passages that it can be scooped out with tins and mugs. This lasts an hour or so, then they disappear.

The following is compiled from information received from several individuals:

In Lakemba the coming of the palolo is confined to the passages off Tumbou. It is also bagged in Naiau and some of the Southern Islands.

In olden days people knew the time of swarming by watching the sun: if it set half way up the hill of Vanua Vatu it was the time for bagging palolo. A few palolo appear the morning before the great day, and are called "the head of the palolo." It used to be the duty of Katumbalevu proper to go and watch for it. When they had caught some they brought it to the Tui Naiau, who then had it proclaimed in the village, "The head of the palolo is drifting." Then they all prepared nets like tennis rackets.

The night of the palolo there is always a squall known as the procrastinator of the palolo because the foolish think it will be cold out fishing, and so lie down and sleep; but the wise sit up and when they go out before the dawn the sky is clear, without a single black cloud. They go out in crowds and set to work as soon as the palolo begins to swarm, for there is no time to lose. As soon as the sun rises the swarm dissolves. The people go home and immediately make an oven. Till that time the weather has remained fine, but the moment the oven is buried clouds gather and it pours. This rain is called "the extinguisher of the embers." As soon as the oven is cooked they carry some off to the country villages; each man goes to his kinsmen in the country.

"It is the feast that we make for the country folk."

In return the country folk make a feast to take to those who bring the palolo; they make the feast in good style, using their biggest taro; this is the only occasion that will draw from the Yandrana people the large taro which they call Won't-go-to-Tumbou, because they never send it in feasts to Tumbou.

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If the palolo is taken to the country villages a day or two after the catch the country folk say, "It is the palolo of an after-thought," because not knowing whither to take their surplus, the Tumbou people have at last thought of some one on whom to get rid of it; it is therefore a mean dodge to get a feast in return. The phrase has passed into a proverb.

The people of Tumbou proper and of Levuka sometimes bring palolo to the nobles who take it out of the baskets and fill them full of taro and other food.

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Formerly palolo was the occasion of a great festival: people put on new loin cloths and skirts. Then there was much palolo; there is not much now.

There is not much fish at the approach of the palolo. The old folk used to say, "The palolo covers the eyes of the fish."

Various villages have some fish or other that swarms at certain seasons and is "bagged" or otherwise caught, and which they call their palolo. The "palolo" of Nukunuku is the *nungga;* of Wathiwathi, the *lairo* crab. In Nasangalau sharks are bagged in the Palolo months. For one month before that it is forbidden to kill sharks. A woman of the clan of Ndreketi knows all about them. She keeps watch as the month of palolo approaches; if she sees signs she calls all the people; then they all go forth with big meshed nets, and sit on the rocks and watch the passage. As the tide begins to flow the sharks come. One or two lie about; as the tide rises their numbers increase. The people prepare to bag them. The woman of Ndreketi stands on a rock. The sharks line up, forty odd big sharks. The net is let down to close the passage; those who are to bag the sharks are to the seaward of them. The woman cries, "To land, to land, that the strangers may see." The sharks come in a bit. "Up with the fin that the strangers may see." The fin is raised. "Let down the fin; the strangers are afraid." The fin disappears. "They are moving towards the land; my calling is finished."

The fish is then bagged. The woman can even cause the fish to get stranded.

In 1909 it did not take place because some one had speared a shark prematurely. These sharks are black and not like other sharks; the taste is not the same. Formerly there was a chief of the sharks, a small white shark. One shark is always taken to Roko Sau.

The *nungga* is bagged in December and in January. It is caught at morning ebb (*mati ruku*) just as the tide is beginning to flow. The *nungga* then follow up the channels towards the land in great quantities and are caught with ordinary nets. The first time it has all to be eaten in Nukunuku; it cannot be taken to another village or it will disappear for good; if a nobleman of Tumbou wants to eat he must come to Nukunuku. The second time it is different. It is supposed it has something to do with spirits (*ka vakatevoro no*).

Turtle Fishing

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Turtle is not uncommon. There is a small kind called *mata iri* (fan face) which is like the herald, or retinue of the big turtles. It goes in front of a big turtle: it comes close to the land while the big one is further out at sea. If any one comes near, the small one starts and the big one flies. The following account has been received:

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In former days no turtle was cooked outside Tumbou; all that was caught from Ono to Thithia had to come to Tumbou, to Tui Naiau who had it cooked, and sent some of it to whomsoever he pleased. It was strictly forbidden for anyone to eat turtle unless Tui Naiau "gave him the turtle knife." The privilege of eating turtle at will was granted by Roko Taliai to Tione Wesile and his descendants on account of his prowess in destroying the Naivi faction. If Tione Wesile caught only one turtle he would bring it to Tui Naiau; if several he could keep the rest for himself; but if

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Naivi or Vatuwangga catch any it has to be cooked at Big House and from there it is distributed among the nobles.

Turtles are caught on land in the breeding season when they come to lay eggs in the sand at night. The experts go over to a small island, such as Vanua Masi, and watch at night. They tell the time when a turtle will come ashore, not, as in the Solomon Islands by the condition of the previous batch of eggs, but by the moon, which must be full. A Moala man says that whenever he watches for turtle a spirit (*timoni*) appears if there is any turtle; he sees a light; if he is not afraid there is no turtle, but if fear seizes him there is. A Tongan says that in Vanua Masi there are two cairns like truncated cones with the tops beautifully level. These cairns are solid, six feet high by eighteen inches broad. From these cairns comes a sound like a whistle, once if there is one turtle, twice if two. There is also a spring there called *rauraw mawi* because water may only be drawn with the left arm.

Turtle is also fished with big nets made of coir rope; the meshes are very large. The net is taken out in a canoe at night and extended in the water wherever they expect to find turtle. The turtle is then driven into the net. The chief fisherman is called *ndau*. These parties go out at the bidding of Roko Sau when some great festival or undertaking is forward. Turtle fishing is a very expensive thing for the chief, because every stage involves gifts. First when the canoe with its freight of turtle comes along the fishermen on board sing as they punt and blow the conch. The people in the village know, and inform the chief; they make preparations; the gifts are set apart with whale's teeth and kava; the feast is made ready, the expecting feast (*kena i waraki*). The conveyers of the turtle are coming; the song of victory runs:

Au sa mate e na liliwa;	I am perished with cold;
Tu me kei thei a tinatina?	For whom is the sow?

The meaning is they are cold and expect to have pig as a relish. A variant is:

Au sa mate e na ndolo;	I am dead with swimming;
Tu me kei thei a vakalolo?	For whom is the pudding?

Thus the fishermen sing what they desire that it may not be refused; they shout (*thimbi*) and stamp on the canoe. They land and tie a rope to each flipper to drag the turtle on its back to Big House. As they drag they shout: *"Vonu e tapate."* The turtle is then offered up in the usual style. That rope by which it was tied involves a gift for unloosening the rope (*i sere ni ndali*); it is presented on behalf of Roko Sau together with other whale's teeth "for piercing the eye" (*i thula ni mata*, a term which cannot be explained) and with kava as an "earnest" (*i sevusevu*). The fishermen then proceed to drink kava; when the feast is cooked and brought, the things they sang about form part of the feast; besides which the men go and eat food in the plantations without leave, and they root up kava; for turtle fishing is somewhat of a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga no*); it is an occasion for some measure of disorder.

Turtles are kept in small circle enclosures (*mbi*) made of stout sticks stuck in the sand below high water mark, until there is enough for a feast; it may be three months. The making of this enclosure involves gifts called *i viri ni mbi*. The enclosure is first made large enough for two or three turtles; if more are caught it means more gifts for the fisherman. There is one presentation called the breaking of the enclosure (*i mbasu ni mbi*). Many things the fishermen do to increase the gifts.

The green fat of the turtles is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is a choice bit.

Yawa Fishing in Mavana

In Mavana is a pond in which there is a fish called *yawa*, flat and as much as a cubit long. One name of the pond is "the *Dracaena* oven" (*lovo ningai*).

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First, when Roko Sau ordered a "net of the dead," (p. 183) or some such large canoe he would prepare gifts which were known as *mbutambuta*, amounting perhaps to a hundred whale's teeth, two to ten rolls of coir rope, and so forth; sometimes a woman was given. A nobleman was sent to Kambara to provide food for the carpenters; he would go to Vulanga and other islands to collect food. While the work was in progress it was forbidden to step over the boards under a fine. When the keel was laid down (*utu a takele*) a feast amounting to as many as a hundred pigs was held and more gifts were given. Another feast was held when the hull was about to be taken down to the sea for polishing with sand; some hundred men would work at this task, and the owners of the canoe made the feast. A third festival (*solevu*) took place when the two hulls were connected together with outrigger booms. These three feasts, the laying down of the keel, the polishing of the hull, and the joining of the canoes were the largest feasts. Of old as many as five men would be killed on those occasions, baked and eaten, or a woman would be brought raw (*kau ndroka mai*); some handsome young men or some one against whom the owners had a grudge would be enticed to Kambara, killed and eaten. When the second Tui Naiau's eldest son's canoe was built, Lemaki heard the herald in offering up the feast apologize that he had not brought a man to eat or a raw woman "for Christianity," he explained "spoils our feasts and bars the way."

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I could discover no charms to make a canoe strong or lucky; but certain tapu had to be observed;

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No woman might touch the canoe or she would have to pray for mercy with gifts and a feast; a woman might not embark on it while it was a "new canoe" until a ceremony had been performed. No one might eat on board until kava had been made on board the canoe. This was called "eating on account of" (or sitting across) (*kana mbaleti*), and was sometimes held in Lakemba, in which event no one was permitted to eat or smoke on the journey to Lakemba; but sometimes it was performed in Kambara to enable the crew to eat on the way.

When the canoe arrived in Lakemba a big feast and much stuff was prepared. The Lemaki offered up to the chief who was sitting at kava the bailer of the canoe, as a sign of ownership. A man with a good voice proclaimed the canoe in the center of the village, so that the people might know of it. Then a lady (*ngone marama*) young or old, was chosen to embark on the canoe. Bark cloth was wrapped around her waist until she could not walk and had to be carried aboard, followed by the other women also heavily wrapped. They all left their dresses on board; sometimes enough to fill two houses. This ceremony was called embarking on the canoe (*vondoki a wangga*).

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526 A race (*rova*) was then held. The whole of Lakemba took part; there might be as many as three hundred runners, a custom still observed. When the new provincial cutter was brought to Lakemba the race started from a point about half to three quarters of a mile from Tumbou along the beach toward Tarukua; the ladies stood at the goal with bark cloth tied on sticks like flags. The runners are placed in several rows, each man pleasing himself except that none is allowed to stand too far in advance, and the man who won the last race is placed hindmost "to keep guard on the beach" (*vakatawa nuku*). One man stands about half way with a conch; when he blows the conch the signal is given: "Stamp once, stamp twice, stamp thrice, stamp four times, run." The man with the conch runs and blows as he runs; if the others catch him up he is trodden upon. Sometimes a man will hide in the bush and join in near the goal; in the old days if he was caught he was hit by the nobles; nowadays he is stamped upon, the common method of "ragging." While the men run the ladies wave their flags and sing:

[539]

Ure, ure wi, urea.
Laki kau mai a i sulu loaloa,
A ondra i suai a ngone sokoa.
Ure, ure wi urea.
Laki kau mai a masi volavola.
A ondra i suai a ngone ni Tonga.

Shake, shake the plum tree, shake.
Bring the black cloth,
A rag for the sailor boys.
Shake, shake the plum tree, shake.
Bring the variegated tapa,
A rag for the boys from Tonga.

Another runs:

Niu lele ki Tonga, lele mai,
Tou sa veithoka, niu lele.

Coconut that crossed to Tonga, crossed back,
Let us cast spears, floating nut.

The man who gets in first is said to salute the race (*tamaka a rova*). A piece of bark cloth is wrapped round his legs, and is called "the burying of his legs" (*a i mbulu ni yavana*). If a man is present who does not belong to Lau the winner hands him the bark cloth, otherwise he keeps it. The remainder of the stuff is divided among the carpenters and the crew; these gifts are called *i rova*. Unlike the race for a new garden (p. 102), this race has no ulterior motive (*vakaimbalembale*), but is merely a matter of kinship.

501 [431] After a year or two the owners of the canoe again make gifts which are called the finishing of the canoe (*i vakaoti ni wangga*).

501 574 The Lauans made the *mbutambuta* and other feasts for the large canoes ordered by the Tongans and for small plank canoes, but for none did they make as big feasts as for canoes ordered by the Tui Naiau. The eating "for . . . " was held for small canoes if the owner could afford it.

50? Canoes known as "nets of the dead" did not remain long in Lakemba: they were taken to Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Tonga; some remained in

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was in the habit of warming himself in the sun in the morning. The cry of Valelailai was *Screivalu*, one of the god Tui Lakemba's names. 126

Captives are called *mbombula* (caught alive). They were despised. Should a man of Nasangalau who had been a captive come and speak in Tumbou he would be shut up with the words, "You are a captive." The custom of taking prisoners is said to be ancient. The Tongans of Lau in Christian times made prisoners on a large scale; whole villages were brought over to Lakemba to work for one to ten years, then the Lord of Naiau said, "Let So-and-so take them back to their village." Then a nobleman of Tumbou would take them home, build them houses, and come back. The captives would some day bring a feast in return. 127

VICTORY

For a slain enemy a drum was beaten (*lali ni mbakola*). Those who had slain a man blackened their faces, wore a train and a turban, and were finely dressed; they sat on the upper deck of the canoe, singing a *thimbi*: *"To alewa, tangane, veitho* [four times], *salia."* (Women's side, men's side, intermingle, passage [?]). In the West and in Thakaundrove the girls sang obscene songs called *ndele* thus: 127 554 [85]

You are like this
We are like this

alluding to sex.

The manslayer stands in the village with his club on his shoulder and the gentlemen and ladies come and place before him plentiful gifts, for which no return is expected. He is said to *thouvi* or *thovi*, and the gifts are termed *i thouvi* or *i thovi*. Then they give him a new name: Koroi or Dog, or Canoe, or comb of some big nobleman, thus Wanggaimalani, Seruimalani, meaning that Malani embarked upon him to be saved, or he combed things out so that nothing might be tangled, but Malani might pass. When a man had slain two or three men, he was called Shark; if six he was Tawakeono. Seven flags; if ten, Tawaketini. These were names of mighty men. Now Koroi is used of academic degrees. 127 554 431 551

A man saved by another remembered the deed, and sooner or later, it might be ten years, gave him plenty of stuff (*i yau*), and his descendants would remember it and save the descendants of that man. Such gifts were called the thing for a life (*ka ni mbula*). If a man saved the High Chief, Roko Sau would give him a daughter as wife, or give him land, and remember his family. 431 577

Peace is called *sautu*, from *sau*, chief, rule, sovereignty, and *tu*, standing, chief, state. The same word also means prosperity, plenty. 196

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The circumcision is carried out in the bush. The operation can be performed by anyone who has the nerve to do it.

First the dirt inside the foreskin is cleaned out. The operator then takes a flat stick, like a chisel sharpened at the end and winds round it a piece of bark cloth. He takes a razor and wraps all but the end of the blade with bark cloth so that it may not slip. The stick is pushed in between the foreskin and the upper surface of the glans; the foreskin is pulled forward over the stick, the glans pushed back, and an incision is made right through the foreskin; a second incision has then to be made in the interior skin as the first incision has not slit it as far back as the outer skin. This Lauan method is called *tavu sei*, slitting, in opposition to the cross-cut (*thembe koso*) formerly used in Viti Levu. When a boy is small it is well to cut just the tip or when he grows up the scar will reach right up to the root, a condition called *ranggavula*. Leaves of *kalakalaisoni*, in no fixed number, are chewed and the juice is applied to the wound, as a lotion (*indangi*). After the foreskin has been allowed to bleed a little, a few drops of coconut oil are poured onto the wound. Then the glans is pulled out and a leaf of *yanggoyanggona* is wrapped round the base of the glans, which being slippery prevents the bandage from sticking. The bandage is a piece of bark cloth wound round so as to keep the lips of the wound apart and expose the glans. A loin cloth is then passed between the legs and round the waist to keep the penis pointing up. When passing water they are obliged to turn the penis upside down to prevent urine from touching the wound and causing inflammation.

There is a feast on the same day as the operation; it is eaten before the return from the bush. Gifts are also made to the operator on that day. The newly circumcized are confined to the house for four days; they may not go out, except to satisfy nature, lest they have a relapse (*tandoka*). They do not bathe, but may splash their bodies with water. No food is forbidden. Grown men look after the circumcized; they are known as the boys' grandmothers (*tumbundra*). They and the circumcized eat the feasts which are prepared daily by the father and the relatives of the boys.

On the fourth day the boys go to bathe in the sea, throw away the old bandage, and clean the penis. They cut a bit from the stump of a coconut leaf, warm it over the fire, and stroke the wound to make the inflammation subside. Leaves of *kalakalaisoni* are again used as a lotion. Then a feast, *i mburua*, is prepared on the shore.

The following ancient custom probably belonged to Matuku:

People would form two parallel lines extending about half a mile from the oven; old men and the circumcized sat by the oven armed with candlenuts or coconuts; young men came running between the two files and were pelted until one of them managed to set foot on the oven.

One of my boys on the fourth day went with his two fellows in circumcision (*i loloku*) to Tumbou for the feast. They were dressed in well oiled bark cloth and necklaces (*i salusalu*) of scented flowers and seeds. Part of the feast was taken to the chief [?nobles] in Tumbou, part of it was brought up to me; there were also mats as gifts, which in this case are called "the seat of the circumcized" (*i tikotiko ni sili*). The feast was offered up in the usual way, after which the boys took off their bark cloth and necklaces and put them on the mats. The bark cloth being oiled was of no use.

When the present High Chief's eldest son was circumcized, he and his companions dressed up and accompanied a big feast. One bundle of mats

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particularly crabs; sea water, including any food from the sea; raw things and cold things, such as coconuts and ripe bananas. At one time when a boy was undergoing a light massage, it was tapu to make kava in the house. Some medicines carry no tapu, for others it lasts during the lifetime of the patient. That which is prohibited is called the *tambu* of the cure, also its *kalou*. At the close of the treatment the patient bathes, "washes off the medicine." Sometimes the bathing takes the form of a fumigation.

Gifts are then presented to the leech and a feast, called the bathing feast (*i silisili*). It is common for a convalescent of Lakemba to go to the Southern Islands, called leading astray (*vakasesea*) or taking the air (*vakathangithangi*). A man will go to his mother's kinsfolk. The low-born do not come to Lakemba when they are ill.

Following are a number of treatments, some of which I witnessed, some I recorded from dictation, others I copied from notebooks kept by natives:

Abscesses and boils.—Boils, while always numerous, are more common in March, when they are called yam boils (*mbo ni uvi*), because the yam matures at that time. An abscess should be allowed to burst, because if lanced it will run to another spot and appear there. Remedies: (a) chop four leaves of *kura* in banana leaf, mix them with oil, rub mixture gently on injured member for about ten minutes, follow by drinking a potion of the liquid. Continue for two days. when the patient bathes; continue for another two days, patient again bathes. Tapu: mangoes, raw things, grated coconut. (b) The following treatment can be carried out only if the abscess has not been lanced: scrape stems of *walinggio*, *kura*, and lemon, and rub on with leaves of *tumandu*. Place in basin a number of wet leaves of *sinu* and of *uthi;* over them place four hot stones. The patient, covered with bark cloth, bends over the basin and remains for some time, when he is uncovered. Wiping off the moisture, he lies down. Following the treatment I witnessed, the remedy for "brain chewing octupus" was applied (p. 165). After one application the first day, the second and third days no medicine was given. On the fourth day the treatment was repeated, and so on until the cure was effected. Tapu: unnecessary talking during treatment; quiet in the house for four days; the removal of any object brought into the house. (c) For boils, heat a *kura* leaf, roll it between the palms of the hands, and apply.

Asthma (*theno*).—No cure was obtained. For shortness of breath, cut and peal a stem of *siti;* useful in a race.

Mberaambete (the priest is late [because before the priest can come, the patient will die]).—A disease on the edge of the abdomen at the lowest ribs; obstructs the stomach. The name of one who possesses a cure is mentioned and the patient falls asleep with the mere talking it over. The leech is brought, who touches the patient, thus effecting a recovery.

Blows (*wai ni motu*).—(a) Scrape *Casuarina* and *Barringtonia*; one reticulum: strain, heat, and drink. Tapu: fermented coconut, lemon, kava, Brazilian plum, raw food. Bathing: fumigate with *uthi* and *waro*, using four stones. (b) Eight leaves of *suvakalou;* make eight potions and eight ointments; a stem of *waleanggio* to scrape and drink as complement of the medicine, using another reticulum. Tapu: kava, lemons, fermented coconut, offal [? ashes on the hair], Brazilian plum. Bathing: eight stones, candle-nut, a little, but plenty of *matiyavi*. (c) A fruiting branch of *waleanggio*, eight leaves as potion and ointment, and one steam as complement of the potion. On fruiting branch, four stems only should be turned toward the east. Tapu: raw food and fermented pungent food, kava, Brazilian plum. (d) *Tatangia*, the side turned

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763 565 most gloomy effect. If the deceased is a commoner the conch may not be blown; they only wail, but not continuously.

The following information was received from various informants:

764 431 The wailing is a signal for the kinfolk to bring bundles of mats to prepare the dead man's couch. When Isoa was dying two Tongan brothers brought theirs before he was dead, and laid him on their mats that he might die on them. After his death his widow, prepared another set of mats for the body to lie on. Inside the clan each individual, including the widow, provides one bundle, if he can; others only provide one for each family (*yavusa*). The widow may decide that her bundle of mats shall be her husband's couch. When the late Tui Naiau died the couch comprised three sheets of a hundred pieces (*lautefui*). Tongan fine mats (*kie ni Tonga*) are used as pillows. Ten to fifty sheets of Tongan bark cloth of the kind called *ngatu tasinga* are wrapped round the body under the armpits and covering the feet. The arms are extended alongside the body.

764 431 565 Each bundle consists of ten mats rolled up with a sheet of black bark cloth inside, for black bark cloth is used for a nobleman's funeral. Any one who brings a Tongan fine mat wraps it up in a cloth; it is tapu to hold it unwrapped (*taura wale nga*). If it is a noble funeral (*putu vakaturanga*) the Roko Sau will send a bundle, perhaps come himself; or if he does not the Randi Naiau will go and announce, "The bundle from Great House." Other nobles also send bundles. Bundles come from Tumbou proper and the various villages that are related to the deceased; only the deceased man's kinfolk come. The relationship may be roundabout; thus Tumbou once sent a bundle because the deceased wife's daughter's mother and Tui Tumbou's mother both came from the island of Matuku. The mats that are not to go to the grave are not placed under the body but put away near the couch at the end of the house.

764 431 These bundles are called kissing gifts (*i rengurengu*) because after putting down the gifts the donors kiss the deceased. Inferiors kiss the hands or feet according to their rank; if higher still they kiss the face. If the deceased is a Tui Naiau they will kiss his hands or his feet, not his face. Only true kinsmen kiss. Only one will kiss from each group of gentlemen that comes; thus the Tui Tumbou will come with his people and kiss but his people will not kiss. Those who come for the kissing wrap an old tattered mat round their waists, or wear black, a sign of mourning worn as long as the mourning lasts. Whale's teeth are the kissing gifts of those who bring small gifts; the dead man's near kinsfolk cannot bring whale's teeth; they must bring bundles: these are the gifts proper to a death; a stranger in the village may bring kava. The whale's teeth are merely pushed forward towards the owner of the house; they are not offered up in the usual style. When mats are brought the "owners of the dead," as the family are called, say "Thanks for bringing the mats." There is no return made for kissing gifts; they are merely left as love tokens (*iloloma*) for the gentleman. Absent people bring their kissing gifts at their next visit to Lakemba.

764 Lying in state is described as "lying above" or "at the upper end" (*koto i thake*). From the body down to the middle of the house they lay out one, two, three sheets of a hundred pieces (*lautefui*), but not spread out flat. This is a new custom; of old it was hung from both ends like a screen. It is called *kolo*, which is the Tongan for a fort or rampart. It is tapu to sit above the rampart or step over it; but one may lie underneath it to keep warm. For a small man there is only one rampart.

Of old, Narewandamu and Tandravula handled the body of the Tui Naiau, anointed it and watched over it (*yandrava*) and kept driving away the flies; they were called sacred hands (*linga tambu*), and might not touch their foods with their hands, being fed or using a fork. At the present day the wife and those who fan the body sit at the upper end.

Women come in to watch and sit at the lower end, all the kinswomen assemble in the house where the body is—a custom called *tonitoni*. The

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semi-private. A visitor remains in the lower end of the house unless especially invited by the owner into the middle of the house, which is reserved for relatives and people of high rank. The upper part of the house (*longgi*) is reserved for the owner. A visitor may enter a house by the entrance at the lower end only, unless he is especially invited by the owner to use one of the two side doors (*katumba yasa*). A close relative of the owner may use either side door. A private door (*katumba kumbu i thake*) at the upper end of the large house is used for removing dead bodies from the house.

When a visitor enters a house, he stoops to show respect to the owner. Formerly, according to natives, stooping was necessary because of the low doorways. In the house the visitor sits down immediately. Both men and women sit with knees flexed and legs crossed, the men with both feet resting on the floor. Old natives say that women formerly sat with knees flexed and feet on one side. The Tongan women sat with knees flexed, legs crossed, and one foot resting on the floor while the other rested on the opposite knee. Today women sit in either fashion.

A crowd sits in formation similar to the kava circle (p. 69), the highest ranking visitors along the side walls toward the middle of the house, those of lower rank (including women and children) near the main doorway. Occasionally the men sit on one side of the lower end and the women on the other. When a ranking individual enters a crowded house a place is made for him according to his rank. To take his place, he walks in front of and not behind the other guests. Natives say it is forbidden to pass behind, because in olden days a man might club another from behind.

Presentation of Gifts

Most ceremonials involve the presentation and reception of gifts. They are based on the ceremonial presentation (*sevusevu*) pattern, which varies in detail according to occasion and participants. The gifts consist mainly of first fruits, kava, cooked feasts, whales' teeth, tapa, mats, canoes, and wooden bowls.

First Fruits

The ceremonial presentation pattern is a variation on the one formerly used for the offering of the first fruits of the land (*sevu ni vanua*) to the priest at the god house. Today first fruits are presented to the chief. The following ceremony, recorded at Undu, illustrates the pattern.

The chief of crops offers a bunch of coconuts (called *i vono ni vanua*) to the chief, who sits in the center of the upper part of his house. It is received by the chief's herald, who sits to the right of and lower than the chief.

Chief of crops: with bunch of coconuts bows at the door of the chief's house cries, "O . . . oa" (cry of welcome to chief).

Herald: "Vinaka" (Very good).

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or pig. Pots of boiled food, covered with slightly dry breadfruit leaves, fastened down by tying a piece of pandanus around the rim, are brought by the women from the kitchens into the circle. The boiled food is either wrapped in leaves and put into baskets with the steamed food by the men, or is left in pots to be distributed with the baskets. The rank and size of the household and its relationship to the host determine the quantity and quality of its share.

The food in the baskets is covered with leaves (hibiscus, banana, breadfruit, ti). The shares are then delivered to each household by young men related to the host. The food is distributed to the members of the household and eaten quickly and informally. Sweet puddings are eaten first, then the main part of the feast. Guests from other villages often carry their food home and eat it in their own village. Shares for visiting guests with canoes are delivered to the canoes. Frequently the shares for close relatives in nearby villages are set aside and delivered.

The chief or person of highest rank always receives the first and best share of a feast. Cooked food presented to the chief or other high persons is covered with green leaves as a sign of respect. Large fish and turtles are wrapped in breadfruit, banana, or ti leaves and steamed in the oven. The head is preferred because it contains the mana and is therefore served to the person of highest rank. Formerly the head of the turtle or pig was eaten by the chief only. Now, in accordance with the Tongan custom (Gifford, 9, p. 125), the back is eaten instead and the priest receives the head.

Ceremonial Exchanges

Large competitive ceremonial exchanges (*solevu*) are made according to a definite ceremonial pattern based on the *sevusevu* rites which were formerly used to make offerings to the ancestor gods but are now used to present first fruits to the chief (pp. 65-66).

On Kambara a *solevu* with deferred payment is occasionally held between the rival villages, Tokalau and Nggalinggali, and between Undu and Lomatchi. Each village tries to outdo the other in quantity of food presented. Several months or years may elapse between the initial payment and the return payment.

The following description of a competitive exchange with immediate payment, held in January 1934, between Komo and Muanaithake was obtained on Fulanga.

The exchange was initiated by the Komo people who sent a message to Muanaithake by a visiting Muanaithake man, asking that a *solevu* be held. The Komo people stated that they wished wooden bowls, a small canoe, paddles, chickens, mats, and pandanus, and that they would bring manioc. A village meeting was held in Muanaithake and the proposal was accepted. Work began on the articles, and four months later a group of Muanaithake men went to Komo on the Fulanga cutter. The Komo people gave a feast called *mangitchi ni veikandavi*. The Muanaithake helped the Komo people cut manioc in

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796 431 their gardens and after two days, returned with some of the Komo people to Maunaithake. When they arrived the *veikendavaki* ceremony was held in the house of the *mbuli* Fulanga (headman of Fulanga district). First a ceremonial presentation was held; kava was presented by Komo and accepted by Muanaithake. The Komo men said they wanted to make a little *solevu* and they discussed the plans. A Komo man was sent to tell the rest of the Komo people to come with their property to the village, while the *mbuli* Fulanga prepared two guest houses (*i thili*), one for the Komo men and one for the Komo women. A small feast (*i takitaki*) was presented by the chief of the ceremonial ground to the Komo men in the guest house. The men ate first, then the women and children. The chief of Komo and the chief of Fulanga discussed the *solevu* in the chief of Fulanga's house and then decided to begin the ceremonies on the following day. That night the Komo men and the Muanaithake girls gathered in the men's guest house and the Komo girls and Muanaithake men gathered in the women's guest house for kava drinking and a *meke* (dance).

Early the next morning the chief of the ceremonial ground of Fulanga took a banana shoot (*vu ni vuntchi*) to the men's guest house, stood outside the door, gave the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief of Komo, and thrust the banana shoot through the door. The chief of Komo, inside the house, unfolded the shoot. (Informants say that the shoot, just beginning to unfold, symbolizes the awakening of the people.) The chief of the ceremonial ground entered the house and put down the stem. He was followed by young men of Fulanga carrying a feast (*i vaka vandra*, to awaken), which was presented to the Komo people and eaten by them.

The Komo people took the property brought for the *solevu* from the guest houses to the village ceremonial ground. This was called *i siko Tui Fulanga*. First many manioc roots in baskets were placed in a pile. On top of the pile were placed many breadfruit and over all was spread Tongan tapa. The people seated themselves on the ceremonial ground in two semicircles facing each other, the pile of property between them. The chief of Komo knelt in front of the Komo group. The chief of Fulanga sat on a coconut-leaf mat with the chief of crops, *tui naro*, and the *mbuli*. Then the ceremony called *vaka-thombo Komo* was held. The chief of Komo presented a whale's tooth to the *mbuli* Fulanga according to the usual ceremonial pattern. The *mbuli* Fulanga held the whale's tooth, saying, "Ndou a mbula tchiko manda nga na, tui Komo" (May you remain in good health, chief of Komo). He gave the whale's tooth to the chief of the ceremonial ground, who then presented a bunch of ripe coconuts (*i vono*) to the chief of Komo, according to the usual pattern. This ceremony is called *vatonakina*. Then the Komo girls danced a *vakamalolo meke*, called *meke ni vakathombo*. The Komo people returned to the guest houses and were given a feast, called *mangitchi a vua viri* by the Muanaithake people. That night a *meke* was held. While the Komo people were on Fulanga the Muanaithake people prepared a small feast each morning and a large feast each afternoon for them.

On the afternoon of the fourth day the *vakathombo Muanaithake* was held. A feast called *mangitchi ni vakathombo* was presented to the Komo people. It was not eaten until after the presentation of property. The Muanaithake men carried their property to the ceremonial ground and piled it as follows: first about 15 wooden bowls and fish plates, and several headrests, then pandanus, and finally a score of rolled mats. Many chickens with legs tied were placed in front of the pile. The *mbuli* Fulanga stood (he did not kneel because he was the host) beside the pile and presented a whale's tooth to the chief of Komo. This ended the *solevu* ceremonies.

The Fulanga people won the competitive exchange because the property they presented was considered of greater value than that of Komo.

Meke

796 533 535 A *meke* is a rhythmic chant accompanied by dancing or gestures and by drum beating. *Meke* are performed on ceremonial occasions such as large

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643 574 Ratu Finau, the high chief of Lau. Assemblies of the men of the island made arrangements for the reception. The women on both sides of the island began to practice *meke* two months before he was expected. A canoe, sent from Nggalinggali to Wangava to secure turtles, returned with six, and they were placed in the turtle fence in the lagoon near Nggalinggali to await the feast. The finishing touches were applied to two sailing canoes, which had been under construction for the past six months. One was built by the west side and one by the east side of the island. The women worked on two mat sails for the canoes and on two long pieces of barkcloth.

During the preparations a dispute arose between the two sides of the island regarding the program. The east side wished to hold separate ceremonies in Nggalinggali. The headman of Tokalau village insisted that the two sides cooperate in ceremonies held at Tokalau since the chief would probably not have time to go to Nggalinggali or to witness two sets of ceremonies. Several meetings of the island elders took place concerning the disagreement. Long speeches were made and whispered conferences held. The dispute was settled when the chief arrived and his herald announced he could stay only a few hours. All the ceremonies were held at Tokalau. The envoy to Lakemba, who was in charge of the ceremonies, chose representatives from the clans of the chief group.

The ceremonies began when the elders of the island paddled a canoe out to the chief's cutter and the headman of Tokalau village presented a whale's tooth ceremonially to the chief on behalf of the island. After the presentation the flag was lowered, so this ceremony is called hauling down the flag (*luva ni tawake*). Next, the same man presented a second whale's tooth, a ceremony called weighing the anchor (*thavu ni kelekele*). Then the Kambara people went ashore.

[516 576] Some time later the chief's wife landed. She was received by the women of the village who sat cross-legged to show respect along the avenue through which she passed on her way to the village. Then the chief accompanied by his herald landed, and he was greeted in the same way by the men. The chief, his wife and his retainers were escorted by the island elders to a pavilion outside the government house for the wading (*nggalonggalovi*) ceremony. The chief sat at the upper end of the pavilion, his wife on his right, and one herald sat on either side of the pair. The island elders formed a kava circle, according to rank.

A bunch of green coconuts (*i vono ni vanua*) was presented to the chief by the chief of crops. The natives say the purpose of this ceremony is to let the chief know that the products of the land are at his disposal. Next a coconut-leaf mat (*tambakau*) was presented to the chief's wife. Then an offering of dry kava root was prepared and drunk. During the kava ceremony, Tongan songs were sung by the Kambaran men. This was not part of the ceremonial

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but was done because the chief likes Tongan songs. Between rounds of kava, ceremonial presentations were made to the chief. These were two large pieces of Tongan tapa (called *i vaka mamatha*), two canoes, four turtles, and two large mats. Six kava bowls, to be sent by the chief from the Kambara people to the council of chiefs, were prepared for shipping. Meanwhile a *meke* was danced for the chief's wife by two groups of girls, representing the west and east sides of the island. At the end of the *meke*, the dancers removed their tapa attire and presented it to the chief's wife. This was called the *luvaluva ni meke*. The chief's wife made a return gift of money. Later another whale's tooth was presented by the assistant *mbuli* of Kambara and then a small feast (*i sirovi*) was presented. It consisted of a large fish, fish soup, and sweet potatoes.

Life Crises Ceremonies[4]

Pregnancy

Childbearing is an important social function for both parents. Through childbearing a woman can most successfully increase her social prestige, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of their first child. It makes no difference to them whether the child is a boy or a girl. The first-born is the living representative of the ancestor gods and the temporary repository of the clan mana. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him. His conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring.

Conception is known in Lau to be the result of sexual intercourse, but the general opinion is that conception does not occur unless a couple copulates repeatedly. It is believed that a woman who has intercourse with many men will not become pregnant.

On Mothe, the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony called *i vaka votu ni ngone* or *vaka votu*. The female members of the pregnant woman's clan gather together and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder (*rerenga*) made of the mangrove root, which is grated, mixed with water, strained, allowed to settle, drained and dried. This is called *poroporo*. The natives do not know why this is done but say it is an old custom. Four days later the women go fishing in the sea and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held.

During the first one hundred days of pregnancy a woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*, and must observe certain tabus. For instance, she must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets; she must not touch or even look at a turtle net lest no catch be made; she may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse; nor may she bathe in the sea. A small communal fishing catch is usually attributed to the presence

[4] For the development of the child and his induction into group life, see 23, pp. 26-59.

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or three months. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu. This custom of *kato nda* which is common on Fulanga is not found on all the islands.

A feast called *mangitchi ni ona singa*, which is held when the first-born is one year old, is not held for subsequent children. If the child's parents are prominent this is a large feast, marked by an affinal exchange of property. The child is bathed in the sea for the first time on this day. The ceremony is divided into two parts, the "bathing" and the "drying" rites. The bathing rites (*mangitchi ni sili ki wai levu*) are held on the beach by the women of the mother's clan. The mother's older sister, who is in charge, collects property (*i suai ni sili*) from the mother's clan, bathes the child or chooses another woman to do so, and distributes the portion of the *singa* feast which is eaten by the women on the beach. The father's older sister, who has charge of the drying rites, collects property (*vaka mamatha*) from the father's clan. Parents of the child receive no share of this property which is ceremonially exchanged and divided between the relatives.

On Namuka the first part of the ceremony (*i silisili ki wai levu*) is held when the child is about four months old and the second part (*mangitchi ni ona singa*) is held on his first birthday.

Another important ceremony for the first-born is the *mangitchi ni kana mbaletchi*. It may be held at any time within the first year. On Fulanga this feast is held on the third day after birth. Formerly when the child was of a prominent family, this feast was attended by the whole village. Today it is a clan feast only. The clan members gather in the house of the oldest living male relative in the child's clan. The child is presented to the clan elder by his paternal grandmother, if she is living, or by his father's or his mother's sister. The elder sits on the mat with the child on his lap and food or kava is placed before him. He reaches over the child for food or for a drink and brings it to his mouth. Before the elder eats over the child, no one may do so, not even the child's mother, but afterward anyone may. A small feast is held by the relatives and property is presented to the elder by the child's parents.

In high ranking families a small household feast, called feast of the first tooth (*mangitchi ni vaka votu ni mbatchi*), is held for the first child's first tooth. When the child begins to crawl another small feast, called feast of the little old man (*mangitchi ni nggasinggasi*), is held. The last two feasts are rarely observed in southern Lau.

A small household feast called *mangitchi ni papi* or *mangitchi ni mbaptiso* is held for every child at baptism into the mission church.

BOYS' PUBERTY

During my residence in Lau no boys' initiation ceremonies were held. The following information was obtained from natives on Kambara, Namuka, Mothe, and Fulanga.

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585 and fishermen on Fulanga. The wedding was a very poor one because of the low rank and poverty of the intermarrying clans. Although pigs are usually the most essential wedding food none was killed for this marriage because pigs are scarce in Naivindamu. The wedding was somewhat irregular because the usual Christian wedding rites had been performed in the mission church six months before and the native ceremonies had been delayed until food for the feasts could be accumulated. The young couple had been living together in the house of the groom's father, and the bride was pregnant.

Early in the morning of the wedding day relatives of the bridegroom began to arrive from the other villages of Fulanga and from the island of Ongea. No close relatives of the bride were present because she came from Vatoa, an island about 50 miles south of Fulanga. While the food for the earth oven was being prepared and steamed by the young men (pl. 2, *A*), the male elders drank kava served by two young girls on the mound of a house under construction. Women and girls were busy in the kitchen houses, making wreaths, which they wore around their necks, and preparing greens and fish in coconut cream for the feast.

585 [437] 292 In the middle of the afternoon there was a ceremonial exchange of property (*rau mbutu*) between the two intermarrying clans. Out of the house used as the groom's headquarters came four girls, each bearing one corner of a large mat stretched at full length. Just behind them walked the groom, wrapped in an outer garment consisting of a large folded piece of Tongan tapa which extended from his arm pits to the ground. It was tied around his waist with a piece of pandanus, over which was knotted a single width of white tapa (*masi*). His body was oiled and around his neck he wore an elaborate wreath of leaves and hibiscus bark dyed burnt orange with *kura (Morinda citrifolia)*. His hair was bleached rust color and stood out about 9 cm. from his head. He wore two red and blue pompons of imported wool fastened just above his temples to a tapa head band.

585 The procession walked to the house which was being used as the bride's headquarters. Here the mat was placed on a piece of Tongan tapa spread in front of the entrance. The groom and his procession walked over it into the house. The groom left his ceremonial outer garment as a gift to the bride's relatives, and, wearing his kilt of Fijian tapa, he returned to his headquarters. Next, six girls, carrying an outstretched piece of Tongan tapa (3.5 by 5 meters), emerged from the bride's house. They were followed by the bride, dressed in an outer garment of Tongan tapa. She wore a wreath like the groom's but no ornament in her hair, which was sprinkled with powdered sandalwood. The bride and her attendants walked to the groom's headquarters, where the barkcloth was placed in front of the entrance. The procession walked across it and entered the groom's house. The bride left her ceremonial

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outer garment as a gift to the groom's relatives, and, wearing her kilt of Fijian tapa, she returned to her house.

The exchange of similar gifts was repeated five times, but after the first exchange the gifts were carried by three assistants plus groom or bride, the groom helping to carry his gifts, the bride hers.

The groom left six mats and six ceremonial outer garments of tapa at the bride's house; and she left one piece of Tongan barkcloth, five mats, and six ceremonial outer garments of barkcloth at his house. The gifts left at the groom's house had been provided by the bride's relatives, and, after the affinal exchange, were divided among the groom's relatives who had contributed to the collection of property for the relatives of the bride. The return gifts were divided according to the share each relative had contributed. The gifts presented to the bride's clan were later sent to Vatoa to be distributed among her relatives in the same way. The young couple received no share of the property. The mats presented by the groom were made on Fulanga, a mat-making island, but his tapa came from Namuka because no tapa is made on Fulanga. All the property presented by the girl came from Vatoa where both tapa and mats are made.

The ceremonial exchange was followed by the sharing of the wedding feast (*mangitchi ni vakawatchi* or *mangitchi ni vakamau*). Coconut leaves were spread on the ground about midway between the house of the groom and that of the bride, and on the leaves were placed breadfruit, pumpkin, manioc pudding steamed in the earth oven, and fish boiled with greens. The feast was surrounded by a circle of 50 empty baskets, one for each household attending the wedding. It was divided by five youths who were directed by an elder of the groom's clan. The filled baskets were carried to the households in the village and to the visiting canoes beached along the shore of the lagoon. The villagers ate quickly in casual household groups or departed for home with their full baskets.

In the evening the close relatives from both sides assembled in the groom's house for the "eating together" feast (*mangitchi ni kana vata*), which symbolized the marriage. Each side provided one basket of food. The sister of the bride took one mouthful of food from the bride's basket in her fingers and fed it to the groom. The sister of the groom took one mouthful of food from the groom's basket and fed it to the bride. Then the baskets of food were exchanged between the intermarrying clans. The married couple removed their outer barkcloth garments which were exchanged by their clans. The "eating together" feast ended the marriage ceremonies at Naivindamu.

Informants say, however, that usually on the same evening the relatives from both sides meet to drink kava and dance in the groom's house, a festive occasion called wedding night (*mbongi marau*). Late in the evening all the

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585 wedding guests leave the house except the young couple and three or four old female relatives of the bridegroom, including his mother, grandmother, and paternal aunt, who remain for the "virginity test" (*rarawa*). The women sleep in the lower part of the house and the bride and groom retire to the upper part which is frequently screened off by a curtain of Fijian barkcloth. Here a nuptial bed of mats and barkcloth has been laid by the groom's relatives. On it the bride's relatives have spread a piece of white barkcloth for the virginity test.

In the morning when the young couple leave the house the old women examine the barkcloth covering the bed. If stains are found they consider the bride to have been a virgin. Often, if the bride is not a virgin, the groom helps her secretly to secure the blood of a chicken or a pig or some red dye to produce the desired effect.

The old women announce the news to the village. They shout and dance and display the signs of virginity to the bride's relatives who are very proud. The village gongs are beaten and frequently the barkcloth is hung outside the house as a proof to all the villagers. The groom's relatives prepare a large feast for the bride, now called "new woman" (*alewa vou*), and her relatives. They kill a pig if possible, and the apertures of its body—the snout, eyes, ears and anus—are covered with banana leaves as a symbol of the bride's virginity. If the signs of virginity are not produced, the girl's relatives are ashamed. The groom's relatives are angry, and they prepare only a very small feast for the young couple.

If the bride is wearing "virgin locks" the ceremony called cutting the locks (*kotchi ni tombe*) is held on the day after the wedding. Both sides assemble [431] in the groom's house and the groom's clan presents mats and tapa to the clan of the bride. The gifts are piled up, the tapa on top. The bride sits on the pile and her mother-in-law singes the locks, or, if a pair of scissors is available, cuts them. They are usually discarded but occasionally the girl makes them into a necklace.

Another ceremony, called "the drying" (*i vaka mamatha*), takes place in the groom's house on the same day. The groom's relatives present property to the bride's relatives according to the ceremonial presentation pattern. Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 169) calls this ceremony "drying-of-the-tears" which the bride shed on leaving her home. Occasionally it is held on the evening of the wedding day after the *mangitchi ni kana vata*, the "eating together" feast.

[515] A ceremony called bath in the sea (*i silisili ki wai levu*) is held on the fourth day after the wedding. The bride takes a bath in the sea for the first time after her marriage. The natives say that if she bathes in the sea before the fourth day, water will get into her stomach and make her sick. The bride goes fishing with her relatives to procure sea food for the large feast which

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726 the warriors during this time. If any man broke the tabu he was obliged to
[834] confess, otherwise the raid would be unsuccessful.

[411] The most important weapons were the club (*i malungu*), the spear (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

712 Fortified villages were built for defense on high points along the ridges of limestone islands or at the summit of volcanic hills. On the limestone islands such villages were protected by a series of walls made of unworked stone which reinforced the natural fortifications and guarded all approaches to the fort. On volcanic islands they were protected by a series of ramparts of earth surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds. Some were surrounded by a moat. Ruins of defense walls, house platforms, and earth works may still be seen.

726 When nearing a village, the attacking party often sang a war chant. Occasionally the raiders set fire to the village. On returning from a raid, whether successful or not, the warriors took kava to the god house and pre-
727 sented it ceremonially to the priest. When victorious warriors returned to their own village with slain or captured enemies, they called out the titles of their weapons. All the men went to the chief's house and sang the song of victory (*thimbi*), ending with a yell. Meanwhile the war gong was beaten outside. If the leader or "strong man" of the enemy had been killed his head
[578] and penis were tied to a stick in front of the village or sent back to the defeated village as a gross insult.

727 Then followed the feast of life (*i mburua ni mbula*), at which the bodies (*mbakola*) of enemies were eaten. If the leader of the enemy had been
266 captured he was eaten. Other men and women were chosen because they were soft, young, and fat. This war feast was the concrete expression of victory. The bodies were eaten for revenge, to show the superiority of the conquerors
[252] over the vanquished and to secure mana from the enemy. The bodies were steamed whole in a large earth oven (*lovo ni mbakola*), and pigs and vegetable foods were also steamed for the feast. When all was ready the bodies were cut up and all the food was placed in baskets and set down outside the god house by the youngest men of the clan under the direction of the chief of crops. The priest in the god house was informed that the feast was ready. He presented it to the war god before the food was distributed. Special parts were served to the chief. Informants did not know, however, which parts these were. Each household took a share home, and the human flesh was consumed by the whole village—men, women, and children.

After an unsuccessful raid a death feast (*i mburua ni mate*) was held.

431 A village might appease the anger of a chief or of another village over
728 some transgression, such as the stealing of a woman, by the ceremonial

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431 728

presentation of a gift of atonement (*i soro*). The gift might be whales' teeth, land, or a woman.

The following war tale was told by Moto of Undu:

726 539

The Undu people were at war with Tokalau and Lomatchi. The strongest man from Lomatchi, called Tute, was leading the Tokalau and Lomatchi men. The Undu people said, "If you who are related to us spear us, why not also spear the Tokalau people?" Then Tute turned and speared the strongest of the Tokalau men. Before he speared him he said, "Taipioloa" (I am going to be your enemy). All the rest of the men from Tokalau ran away.

RELIGION

CULT OF THE LAND PEOPLE

173 184

There was a marked difference between the beliefs and practices of the land people and the chiefs' group in Lau. The land people retained their beliefs and individuality in spite of the dominance of the immigrants.

The most detailed information regarding the beliefs of the land people was obtained on Kambara. The land people of Kambara formerly believed they originated from the *ngingia* tree. They were the fruit of the *ngingia (vua ni ngingia)* and it was their forefather (*vu*). When the missionaries came they made fun of the land people for believing they were the fruit of the *ngingia* tree because this tree bears no fruit, but the land people insisted they were the fruit or offspring of the tree. Natives say there is only one *ngingia* tree on Kambara. The tree is called by the title Vu (Forefather). It grows near the beach north of Undu, the stronghold of the land people. It is kept free of underbrush and the men of Undu still offer ceremonial food and kava there in times of distress. The rite was last performed a few years ago when a severe drought threatened the island food supply.

Mosesi, a very old informant who was born on the recently deserted island of Wangava, said that the Wangava land people, who are closely related to the Kambara land people, originated in the *ngingia* tree just as the Kambarans did.

173 825

The forefather of the Kambara land people is incarnated in the red shark (*nggio ndamundamu*). It is the *wanggawangga ni vu* (canoe or vessel of the forefather). The red shark is the guardian of the land people. Its title is Tui Natakala or Ratu. A member of this group may not kill, harm, or eat it. The red shark is still propitiated by the land people with offerings on the beach or on a canoe at sea and its appearance is considered a good omen.

The red rooster (*toa kula*) is the emblem of the Kambara land people, and it symbolizes power and strength. Its title is Kula. Formerly the land people were forbidden to kill or eat it.

173

The following information regarding the origin of the land people was obtained on other islands visited.

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342 A man may either select and cut the timber for his house himself, or make arrangements to have it done by his own village or a related village. 313 If he cuts it himself, he fells the first suitable timber he sees for any part of the house and leaves it until he can get help to haul it to the house site. To procure the help of a village he presents one or more whale's teeth or property [431] such as mats and tapa to the ranking men of the village with his request. At the appointed time the necessary house posts are assigned to groups of men who select, fell, and transport them. The natives use imported metal ax blades, hafted like adzes, for felling timber. Long, heavy beams are carried on the shoulder. Hauling the timber takes two or more days, and during this time the owner provides the daily feast (*i nggaravi ni takathu ai vale*) for the workers.

342 The quantity of sennit needed for a house depends on the size of the 283 house and the amount of ornamental lashing to be executed, but for even a small house a large quantity is necessary. An industrious man on Fulanga who was building a house 3.5 fathoms long, 2 fathoms and 2 spans wide, and about 3 fathoms high, estimated that he needed 6,000 fathoms of sennit. This he made in his leisure time, mainly in the evening. To complete such a task takes from six months to one year of steady work. Well-executed ornamental [555] lashing is very much admired by the natives and adds considerably to the owner's prestige. Frequently members of the owner's clan contribute sennit for the house.

342 After the timber has been hauled to the house site, it is shaped and smoothed (*sasau kathu*) by the owner or by the carpenter with metal bladed adzes of various sizes. Inasmuch as the Lauans take great pride in smooth, thick house posts this is slow, careful work.

When the parts of the main framework are ready to be erected, the sennit finished, and the harvest ripe, the day for erecting the main framework is set by the owner and the village headman, who announces it to the village. All the able-bodied men in the village help in the actual work. The old men, giving advice and telling stories, sit in a group under a temporary coconut-leaf thatched pavilion (*vakatu noloa*), near the house site. Properly, kava [272] should be provided by the owner; but on islands where kava is not raised it is often omitted.

On this first day of the actual house building the largest feast of the series is held. It is provided and prepared by the owner and his relatives. The men work on the ovens, and the women fish and boil the food. The women take no part in the actual house building. A small feast (*i takitaki*) is served in the morning at nine or ten o'clock. The main feast (*mangitchi ni kali vaka vale*) is served at four or five in the afternoon. It is distributed by the old men under the direction of the chief of the ceremonial ground or the

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Liquid Containers

The soup cup (*mbilo ni su*) is made from the pointed end of a green coconut. The point is scraped off and the outer surface is made smooth with a shell or a bit of glass. New soup cups are light in color, old ones dark. 415 824

To make coconut-shell water containers (*pupu*), the three openings in a green coconut are punctured and the nut is filled with water. When the meat rots the nut is emptied and refilled with water until it is clean. The outside of the shell is scraped, and the container is hung up with a piece of sennit.

Gourd water containers (*ndanu ni wai*) are made from gourds of the *sina* plant, which grows wild in the bush. The pointed end is cut off the ripe gourd, the seeds are loosened by shaking the fruit. The seeds are removed, and the fruit is dried in the sun. The gourd hardens and is then ready for use.

ECONOMIC EXCHANGE

Economic exchange in Lau is based on rivalry for social prestige. Each side, whether an individual, a clan, or a village, strives to outdo the other by presenting gifts which are of greater value in quantity and quality than those of the opponents. Exchange is a competitive game in which the side which loses materially wins socially. The aim is to play so cleverly that one gains as much as possible socially, while losing as little as possible economically. 431 556

Most economic exchanges in Lau, including minor affinal exchanges and payments for professional services as well as small quantities of tribute, are made according to the ceremonial presentation pattern (pp. 65-66). Large payments of property, including affinal exchanges and intervillage trade are made according to the *solevu* ceremonial pattern, which consists of an elaboration of the ceremonial presentation pattern.

Types of Exchange

KEREKERE

A system of soliciting or begging, called *kerekere*, is important in the economic and social life of Lau. *Kerekere* is a non-ceremonial solicited gift exchange with deferred, solicited payment. An individual or a group may solicit from another individual or group any property not tabu. If the owner refuses to give up the property he will lose face. If he gives he will gain prestige. The recipient is under obligations to the donor, who at some future time will solicit something, probably of greater value, from him. Property of little value, such as tobacco and kava, as well as property of high value, such as pigs, canoes, and the use of garden land is solicited. An industrious man is continually giving away property in return for social prestige. The system functions among the chiefs as well as among the people. Even tribute

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431 to a chief is not accumulated by him but is put into circulation again either through his obligations or the soliciting system.

556 The *kerekere* system prevents accumulation and centralization of wealth by any individual or group and promotes continual redistribution. Property serves as the medium by which social prestige may be acquired. A loss of property through gift exchange means a gain in prestige—the material loss, through giving, equals a social gain. But prestige cannot be accumulated and stored. As a commodity it is perishable and must be renewed frequently. Under the system the rewards go to the industrious and clever man—to the worker; the lazy man loses out. There is social rather than economic insecurity.

SOLEVU

A *solevu* is a competitive form of ceremonial gift exchange of the potlatch type between rival, related groups. The *solevu* pattern involves announcement by messengers displaying the property to be presented in a procession and in a pile on the ceremonial ground, ceremonial presentation of a whale's tooth and the property, dancing, and the distribution of goods (pp. 73-74). A *solevu* is usually planned months ahead, to allow time for making and collecting the property. Payment may be either immediate or deferred. Large *solevu* are usually accompanied by barter between related individuals who are participating in the *solevu* as members of rival groups. Whales' teeth, mats, tapa, food, woodwork, canoes, and sennit are the most important articles of exchange.

Solevu are held between villages or clans. The basic motive for many intervillage *solevu*, especially if the villages are located on different islands in Lau, is economic. The *solevu* is a form of economic exchange, which serves to provide for local deficiencies in natural resources and supplement local industries. At the same time it provides a means by which the spirit of rivalry may be expressed and prestige may be gained. Interclan *solevu* are usually affinal exchanges in which the underlying motive is social rather than economic. They serve to express and emphasize the bond between two clans related by marriage. They are held at marriage, birth, the first birthday of the first-born, and death.

TRIBUTE

431 A variation on the *solevu* ceremonial exchange pattern serves in the pay-
651 ment of tribute to a chief. Property collected from a village or an island is present according to the *solevu* form with deferred payment but no equivalent return payment is made although a small return gift of tobacco or other property is made by the chief. Also, in the payment of tribute, rivalry plays a part, for the value of the tribute offering affects the prestige of the donors.

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The tribute system is related to the *kerekere* system in that while *kerekere* is soliciting between relatives, tribute is soliciting of the people by the chief. However, *kerekere* is a reciprocal exchange between more or less equals, whereas tribute is a non-reciprocal payment of property by the people to the chief, and *kerekere* is non-ceremonial whereas tribute is ceremonial. Small quantities of tribute, such as the first fruit offerings are offered according to the ceremonial presentation pattern.

PAYMENT FOR SERVICES

Another type of ceremonial exchange is the payment of goods in return for professional services of carpenters, doctors, midwives, *meke* makers, and master fishermen. This is a reciprocal exchange in which payment of goods is usually deferred until after the services have been rendered and paid in a lump sum of property offered according to the presentation pattern.

VASU AND TAUVU

The *vasu* relationship involves a formalized exchange of property with deferred payment which is not reciprocally balanced. It has been described on pages 62-64.

I was not able to gather much information concerning the *tauvu* relationship. Informants agree that if two villages have the same *vu* (forefather) they are *tauvu*. This means that they may take each other's property. It seems, therefore, that the relationship involves a formalized reciprocal exchange of property with deferred payment between villages related by descent from a common mythical ancestor. Each village has the privilege of seizing property from the other village.

Kambara is *tauvu* to Vatoa, a village near Mbau on Viti Levu. Their mutual *vu* is Mberawalaki. When Kambarans go to Vatoa village they may seize property there and when Vatoans go to Kambara they may do likewise. Kambara is also *tauvu* to Nukuloa village, Thakaundrove, but Nukuloa is not *tauvu* to Vatoa. Oloi in Tailevu, Viti Levu, is *tauvu* to Kambara. Mualevu district on Vanua Mbalavu is *tauvu* to Vanua Vatu Island. Mothe is *tauvu* to Lauthala at Rewa on Viti Levu. Mothe is also *tauvu* to Taveuni. Matakana, Ono, is *tauvu* to Kamali clan, Mothe. The natives of the other islands visited say they do not know their *tauvu* relationships.

BARTER

Barter may be defined as a non-ceremonial form of direct reciprocal gift exchange. Barter is often used by traders who sail to distant islands to exchange their wares with relatives. Also, it accompanies every large ceremonial exchange.

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851 553 names, but all children have at least two names; a Lauan name and a Lauanized biblical name. They receive the latter at a Christian baptism ceremony held in the mission church.

851 602 431 On the day of birth and for two or three days afterwards the mother and child are visited by relatives from both the mother's and the father's clan. The relatives bring small gifts consisting of roasted ripe coconuts, mats, barkcloth, and oil. The gifts are presented without ceremony, and are received by the paternal grandmother. They belong to the child's parents. This is one of a series of competitive affinal exchanges which begin with betrothal and continue throughout the marriage relationship in Lau. They serve to emphasize the relationship of the individual in a patrilineal descent group not only with his father's but also with his mother's clan.

846 For at least four nights after the birth, a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and mother's clans sleep in the house with the mother and child. Formerly the women stayed for ten nights, but the government has tried to discourage this custom on account of the drain on the economic resources of the child's father, so now they stay longer than four nights only if the child's father can feed them without straining his resources.

852 The most important birth feast is held on the first or second day after the birth. The birth feast of a first child, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The kin of both father and mother provide and prepare food for it, whereas only the father's kin do so for subsequent children. If the family is prominent, the birth [554] feast is large and attended by the whole village; if not, the feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a [848] child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided by the mother's kin only.

On the fourth day another ceremony is held. The mother bathes in the sea for the first time since the birth. She is

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accompanied by her mother or another near relative. The 852
group of relatives who sleep in her house go fishing to secure
sea food for a small feast for which the father provides the
garden produce. On this day the midwife, if she is not a close
relative, is presented with barkcloth or mats. The barkcloth
in which the newborn infant has been wrapped is removed for
the first time and the child is given a steam bath in the house.
No men are allowed to be present. Leaves of a certain plant
(called *varo*) are placed in a special oblong wooden bowl. A
hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over
the steam. When the leaves cease to give forth steam the
child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the
navel.

On Fulanga the feces of the infant during the first few 854
months are wrapped in barkcloth and kept in a basket hung
on the wall of the house. The natives say they are still a part
of the child and discarding them would injure him. If the [753]
basket of excrement is removed too soon the child will have
diarrhoea. For the first child the basket must be kept longer
than for subsequent children. After 100 days the father
throws the first child's basket over the reef into the sea, and
frequently marks the spot with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish
there until after the ceremony which celebrates the child's first
birthday. The father does not need to erect a tabu stick, but
if he does so he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is [554]
lifted. The feast adds to his prestige, as well as that of the
child and of his clan. The excrement basket for a subsequent
offspring need be kept only until the child shows that he is
gaining strength. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu
and no ceremony is held on the child's first birthday.

On all the islands a feast is held when the first child is one 852
year old. If the parents' and child's clan are prominent, this 431
is a large feast, marked by the ceremonial exchange of mats, 602
barkcloth and other property between the father's and the

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852 mother's clans. The property is divided between the relatives,
431 and the child's parents receive no share. On this day[1] the child
602 is bathed in the sea for the first time.
[854]

539 CHILDHOOD ON KAMBARA

Mothe, mothe, ko yandra, yandra,
Vuka mai na lupe ni wasa,
Ke lupe ndina, ke mothe manda-e.

Sleep, sleep, and wake, wake,
The dove of the waves comes flying.
If he is a true dove he will sleep-e.

Lauan lullaby.

854 For the first year the mother and child live in a predominately
593 feminine world. Since the father's work takes him to the gardens, the bush and the reef during the day, and to the earth oven in the late afternoon, and since he sleeps in another house at night, he sees the mother and child only at the evening meal and occasionally during the day. Throughout the nursing period, which lasts about one year, the father's chief rôle in the cooperative enterprise of parenthood is the provision of food. He takes little part in the baby's life until the child is old enough to run. If the father does pick the child up he carries him in his arms or on his back, never in a sling, which is used only by women. One is more likely to see the grandfather than the father with the infant on his lap. The father, however, is proud of the child, especially if he is the first born.

854 During the nursing period the mother has practically no-
462 thing to do except care for and play with the infant. She is relieved of her usual tasks, such as fishing, gathering greens, and tending the kitchen fires, by the other women and girls
[162] of her sub-clan. Since the females outnumber the males there are always hands to do the comparatively small amount of work that falls to the women. Unmarried girls fish and gather greens and firewood for the kitchen. They also grate and strain coconut for coconut cream. Older women, with

[1] [i.e., the first child's first birthday.—Analyst]

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labor. Ketei, however, made it a point of clan honor never to complain about a relative, and when the district court met the Ramoko case was not filed.

Theft cases frequently conflict with the native system of soliciting (called *kerekere*). According to this system, a man may solicit any movable property (which is not tabu) from his relative, who is obliged, in order not to lose face, to grant his request. The system weakens the link between a man and his personal or clan property, and shortens the step to theft.

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423 On our first visit to one of the Kambaran villages the natives
754 were suspicious because they had heard that we wanted to take away their land and build a sawmill to export hardwood. This they feared because the land titles had not yet been established by the lands commission. One night most of the inhabitants of the village crowded into my native house. About midnight when they had all left, we noticed through the darkness two men (whom we recognized as two high ranking persons in the village) a few yards from the house. They were describing a circle on the ground. When they disappeared we examined the spot and found a piece of pandanus, knotted in the form of a cross, lying in the center of the circle. We found the pandanus had been extracted from the mat on which we had been sitting.

754 The next night, when the natives had again assembled in the house, we showed the pandanus and asked what it was. Suddenly there was a silence. The dark faces became serious and frightened. Finally a hereditary carpenter, who had been educated for the ministry in a mission school, said: "It's a bad trick." The two men had been so afraid of losing the land that they had practised black magic on us.

754 Since the practise of witchcraft is forbidden by the native
431 regulations the whole village was upset, and the next day the
621 natives ceremonially presented to us a large sea turtle, weighing over 150 pounds, in atonement. This was the most valuable gift they could give. We returned with the turtle, lying on its back so that it was helpless, aboard our canoe to Tokalau, whereupon Tokalau, not to be outdone by its rival, immediately presented us with a still larger turtle.

423 Jealousy over land titles reached its highest point regarding
578 the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. This island with its rich timber and garden land, fishing and turtle breeding grounds, is claimed by a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu. A noble clan (Vuanikathu) of Tokalau also claims the west side of the island, but acknowledges the Tanggu

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476 ceremonies and a feast. Tabus are placed upon specialists
614 while working for a high chief, and the products of their labor and certain types of work such as preparation of food for the earth oven are tabu to women and boys.

554 The elaborate ranking system is reflected in every phase of the economic life. The work of production is classified according to rank. For instance, skilled workmanship, such as lashing complicated designs or measuring the curved purlin of a house, is done only by the master carpenter; turtles are netted only by men of the chief group under the master fisherman. Moreover, rank is shown in the distribution and consumption of goods. Even in the daily consumption of food by household or sub-clan groups, precedence is paramount. The women and children do not eat until they have served the men in order of rank. Food at a feast is shared according to formal procedure. The chief's portion (which consisted in pre-Tongan times of the head of the pig or turtle as the part containing the most "mana", but now consists of the back, due to Tongan influence) is presented first, then the portion of each clan, according to rank. Formerly the best of everything was reserved for the chief. He received an offering of the first fruits of the harvest, and after a fishing expedition all turtles and certain large fine fish were presented to him. These customs are still practiced on islands like Mothe
[177] where the institution of chieftainship has been only slightly modified in recent times, but they survive only in part on islands like Kambara where native political officials have gained much of the power formerly held by the chief.

556 The philosophy underlying the Fijian economic system is
431 fundamentally different from the western competitive capitalistic system in that social prestige is acquired not through the accumulation of wealth but through its distribution. Fijian systems of distribution differ fundamentally from western ones. They concentrate on competitive generosity in gift exchange, which works against the accumulation and

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centralization of wealth and brings about its continual redistribution. The underlying principle is clearly expressed in the native soliciting system. Under the soliciting system a man loses face if he refuses to give up property solicited by a relative. However, the recipient is under obligation to the donor, who has the right to retaliate by soliciting something of greater value from him at some future time. Hence the institution is really a system of reciprocal gift exchange. One day I gave a necklace of bright green beads to one of the girls in Tokalau. The next day I noticed another Tokalau girl wearing it. In the course of time the green necklace traveled from neck to neck through the village, and when I visited Undu at the other end of the island there it was ornamenting one of the Undu belles.

The native soliciting system does not differ in principle from other types of exchange in Lau such as the *solevu,* which has been described in connection with a Lauan wedding. The *solevu* is a competitive type of ceremonial gift exchange between related groups. As we have seen, marriage in Lau initiates a series of *solevus* between the inter-marrying clans. Inter-island trade on a large scale is carried on mainly through *solevus* between villages. The *solevu* ceremonial pattern varies in detail, but always involves the display of property belonging to the rival groups by means of processions, piling up on the village ceremonial ground and the ceremonial presentation of property by each donor group, acceptance by the recipients, feasting, and dancing. Whale's teeth, mats, tapa, food, woodwork, canoes, and sennit are the most important articles of exchange. Tribute is also presented by means of the *solevu* at the high chief's court on important occasions such as the marriage or death of the chief.

Under the old native system there was no definite standard by which the relative value of objects of exchange could be measured. True money was absent. The most valued object in Lau was, and still is, the beautiful polished ivory tooth

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435 (*tambua*) of the sperm whale. The whale's tooth serves as
436 a medium of exchange and as a means by which wealth can be accumulated, condensed, and stored. It cannot, however, serve as a standard of value because its ceremonial significance imparts to it an immeasurably sacred value which cannot be compared with the exchange value of other objects. The
[556] indefinite term "big" (*levu*) is used to express victory in the economic competition of gift exchange. The donor whose gift is "big" wins prestige.

431 The Lauan principle of gift exchange emphasizes communal
556 industry and group prestige rather than individual enterprise.
476 It would completely discourage initiative were it not reciprocal and self-perpetuating. In an exchange of property each party seeks to give more than he receives and thus through a material loss to secure a social gain. But the gain in prestige is not permanent. A man or group must continue to distribute in order to maintain the acquired status. Hence it is really the far-sighted, industrious man or group which wins in the long run. Work is rewarded and laziness loses out.

732 The case of Wai illustrates the point. Wai is a half-caste
158 whose mother was a native from the island of Komo and
554 whose father was a European. He is the most maladjusted individual on Kambara. He is physically handicapped not only because of his small bones and relatively short stature but also because he limps badly. Any physical defect such as lameness, blindness, or elephantiasis is mocked by the natives, and on this account Wai has had his share of ridicule.
[797] Besides, Wai is classed as a bastard which, since the advent of
[848] the missionaries, has been severely censored. Since his father was a European, the natives insist that he has no clan and no land. However, he has been given the use of land in the clan of his wife's mother who came from Tokalau.

158 Wai is known as the laziest man on Kambara. At the
554 time of our visit to Kambara he had a house in Tokalau, but the thatched roof leaked, and he with his wife and bastard

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food and washing clothes for the Sunday ceremonies and feast, and Monday is a day of recovery from the Sabbath. Tuesday and Friday are reserved for work on the gardens, and Wednesday is used for other activities including care of the village and houses.

The mission church requires a quarterly tithe from each member. When the copra industry was at its height, this tithe was paid in money, but was being paid in produce when we visited Lau, for after the slump in copra there was very little money in the southern islands. This obligation, as well as the native tax imposed by the colonial government, makes further regular demands upon the industry of the people.[36]

The growing demand for regularity in economic life conflicts with native psychology. The Lauans, as well as most non-westernized peoples, have a natural rhythm of work which differs fundamentally from the mechanical regularity imposed by a machine age civilization. They prefer to work and work best at irregular intervals interspersed with frequent rest periods, ceremonials, and feasts. This tendency toward irregular work rhythms is counteracted to a certain extent in Lau by the daily recurring problem of subsistence. At the same time even in this difficult environment the natives manage, by living at a minimum level of subsistence, to adhere to their preferred tempo.

The attempt to regulate the work habits of the natives was but one result of the gradual penetration of the principles of western economy into the group. Another was the introduction of western trade articles. Trade in imported articles focused the essential differences between the native and the western economic systems, especially regarding exchange of goods. Both the early missionaries and the government officials frowned upon the native soliciting system. Soliciting

[36] In 1933-34 the usual government head tax of £1 and the provincial tax of £1 per year were not required of the natives of Lau province on account of the low price of copra and the limited resources of the group.

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656 431 439 and large ceremonial exchanges were discouraged. The exchange of property between related groups and the amount of tribute which a chief might extract from his people were limited by regulation.

178 656 431 439 These regulations have, of course, proved largely unsuccessful since the abuses they attempt to correct lie deep-rooted in the native economic system. Such rules cannot bridge the wide gap between western competitive capitalism based on money and credit, which emphasizes the accumulation of wealth by the individual, and native competitive communalism, which emphasizes the distribution of wealth by the group. They have, however, had unexpected results. The attempt to limit the exchange of goods between related groups has resulted in sapping vitality from the economic life. Distribution by competitive exchanges between related clans or villages, with its accompanying ceremonies and feasts, is a necessary stimulus to production under the native system. Moreover, instead of being curtailed, the soliciting of western trade goods has been extended outside the boundaries of the related group. Whereas formerly a man solicited only from his relatives, now he solicits trade goods from whomsoever he pleases. The effect of the limitation of tribute has been to cause the people to question the demands of their chiefs and to pay only the barest minimum. It has directly undermined the authority of the chiefs.

439 245 The development of western economy in southern Lau, as in many parts of Fiji, is closely linked with the rise of the copra trade. Between 1900 and 1920 the market price of copra rose from £9 to £25 per ton, chiefly because of the increasing demands for coconut oil in the manufacture of vegetable butter and good quality soaps. The industry in Fiji expanded rapidly, the number and area of the coconut plantations increased, and the production of copra in the colony practically

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539 OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

Endua nomu wangga levu,
Endua nomu vusi levu.

If you have a great canoe
Great will be your labor too.[42]

000 Aside from the copra industry there is little likelihood that the islands of southern Lau will become important commercially. Hence sound economic development must lie along the lines of native economy: namely gardening, craftsmanship, and native trade.

● 431 554 As we have seen, the life of the native Lauan economic system lies in ceremonial gift exchange. Moreover, the *solevu* and kindred types of native exchange are the most significant channels through which the fundamental Lauan drive for prestige, formerly expressed in warfare, now may find an outlet. Any serious attempt to infuse new life into the culture must recognize the vital need of the Lauan for such expression. Stimulation of native exchange would infuse new life not only into the native economic system but also into the culture as a whole.

431 554 178 Economic policies in Fiji, however, tend to discourage ceremonial exchange. Large ceremonial exchanges and the native soliciting system have been suppressed, and the tribute demands a chief may make have been limited. Also the economic burdens of a clan have been lightened, especially during the traditional ceremonies. For instance, the time when the father of a new-born child is obliged to feed the group of female relatives who attend the mother, and when the relatives of the deceased are obliged to feed the group of mourners, has been restricted from ten to four days. Doubtless there was formerly a great deal of waste and abuse connected with the ceremonial exchange of property in Fiji, which these recent changes have tended to correct, but at the same time the corrections have been carried so far that the whole economic

[42] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

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structure and, consequently, the vitality of the culture have suffered seriously.

It is easy to understand how in a group of islands with limited natural resources and inadequate food supply the economic drain of large-scale exchanges would be considered devitalizing, but as a matter of fact the opposite reaction seems to result. Reasonably heavy demands apparently act as a stimulant in a group like the southern Lau islands where production is difficult. The necessity of production against odds and of competition with rival groups gives just that stimulus necessary to avoid self-pity because of the discriminations of nature, and to attain proficiency and even superiority of craftsmanship over groups situated in a more favorable environment.

This is characteristic of the native economic life of Melanesia. In the barren Amphlett islands off the southeast coast of New Guinea, for instance, superior clay pots are made, even though the local clay is so poor that clay must be imported from Fergusson island in the D'Entrecasteaux, a day's journey by canoe. Amphlett pots are superior to any others in British New Guinea and are exported mainly in exchange for food to the Trobriands, the Marshall Bennetts, Murua, the northern islands of the Dobu people and Goodenough in the D'Entrecasteaux group, and to settlements on the mainland of New Guinea between Cape Vogel and East Cape.[43] The natives of the rocky islet of Toulon, Mailu, on the southeast coast of New Guinea are not only good potters and traders, but they are expert in the manufacture of *Conus* shell armbands, an important native trade article in the region. Not only do they collect their own supply of *Conus* shell as far east as the Louisiades, but they import armshell bands from the Massim, regrind them, and sell them along the coast to the west.[44] Further examples of the effect of unfavorable

[43] L. Tueting, "Native Trade in Southeast New Guinea," *Bishop Museum Occasional Papers*, Vol. 11, No. 15, 1935, pp. 14-15.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

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Another institution which is part of the total system under discussion is the intervillage ceremonial exchange, called *solevu*. Food from the volcanic islands is exchanged for craft goods such as mats, barkcloth, wooden bowls and canoes from the limestone islands, by means of the *solevu*, a complicated pattern of exchange between related villages based on an adaptation of the ancient ceremony used in the presentation of first fruits, mentioned above. Along with the public ceremonial exchange of goods between the two participating villages, there occurs during the four days of the *solevu* a certain amount of private exchange of gifts and barter between related individuals from the two villages. This gives a high degree of flexibility to the arrangement. The *solevu* also provides an occasion for the exchange of feasts, dances, and songs between the two groups and for intervillage games and sports.

The institution of the *solevu* functions not only to provide a pleasant interlude in the daily routine of hard work necessary to group survival in southern Lau, but also as an efficient and self-regulatory "mechanism" to stimulate production of food and craft articles and to expand the system of distribution of each island to include a group of both limestone and volcanic islands whose complementary resources form a natural trade area. We have noted how the institutions of the crop custodian and the master fisherman, in the ecological context of each island, function traditionally to increase in size and nutritive value the local food supply and operate toward its more equitable distribution. We now observe that the *solevu* provides an integrating, logical link in the total productive and distributive system which unites the various islands of the community into a balanced, interdependent and co-operative whole whereby sectional differences in resources are transformed into assets and each group, regardless of its resources, is enabled to obtain what it needs for a balanced diet and economy.

The importance of the *solevu* in the total economy of southern Lau is brought into relief by the effect of its prohibition by the Colonial Government. Some years ago British officials outlawed large ceremonial exchanges in Fiji, because, it was said, they thought such a prohibition would prevent waste of needed energy and resources. Doubtless, in other parts of Fiji, where food is more plentiful, there was a wastage of resources in connection with the *solevu*. The effect of the regulation in the community under consideration, however, was not to abolish the *solevu* but rather to reduce the number of *solevus* held in the area. This in turn tended to reduce the output of craft goods, especially mats and barkcloth, the main *solevu* craft goods. According to the local division of labor, mats and barkcloth are made by the women, who also tend the babies, care for the houses, and, as noted above, procure and prepare part of the food. The men, on the other hand, besides their food producing and cooking functions already noted, hunt and fish with spears, care for the pigs, build and sail large sea-going canoes, trade between islands, and produce wooden bowls and

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sennit. This nice balance of labor between the sexes in Lau has been disturbed by the diminution in the production of women's crafts, due mainly to the government's prohibition of the *solevu*, the women being left with a considerable amount of time on their hands which they formerly used in creative activity. The men, on the other hand, tend to labor more than ever, trying to compensate for the diminished food supply. But since garden lands are insufficient in quantity and quality on most islands to cover the needs of the population without importing food, regardless of the amount of energy expended in gardening by native methods, food is scarcer than ever. It should be added that, although the supply of hardwoods, found only on the limestones, is limited, there seems to be little danger that the forests will be depleted by the small amount of timber cut for canoes and craft goods by means of native technology. Thus, instead of operating to prevent wastage of energy and resources, the prohibition of the *solevu* actually operates toward throwing out of line the nicely adjusted system of food production and distribution and the balanced sexual division of labor in the community, reducing the work and creativity of the women, increasing the work of the men, and engendering a food shortage on many of the islands.

The entire system of production and distribution described above, it should be noted, is basically accommodative and co-operative, and it is effected with a minimum of coercion, since rewards in the form of group prestige go automatically to the group (and incidentally also to the individual) who willingly gives or contributes most to the whole. Stinginess means loss of prestige. Within the system, however, rivalry between groups functions as a creative stimulus toward the goal of increased production of high quality products and more equitable distribution of these to the whole community. Apparently it is an indispensable ingredient contributing toward the self-maintenance and self-regulation of the system. Moreover, institutionalized, competitive group giving prevents the development of an economic monopoly which might otherwise emerge in an area where the distribution of local resources is irregular and where rank and status are highly developed. Under it not even the chiefs may keep their tribute but rather, under penalty of losing face, must redistribute it to their followers. Thus, traditionally, the system prevents the accumulation of wealth in the hands of any one group or individual, and it insures that community resources will remain available to the whole group for immediate use according to need.

Before concluding we should note one more point which is vital to an understanding of the Lauan system of production and distribution described above. Despite its fine adjustment to the ecological setting and its basically self-perpetuating nature, this system could not operate effectively unless it were counterbalanced by a psychocultural arrangement which functioned to regulate and limit the size of the human population in relation to the resources of

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the community made available by the indigeneous technology. Analysing Lauan culture from this viewpoint, we find a complementary set of institutions which do actually tend to function toward just this end.

For example, after the birth of a child the father moves out of the family dwelling and sleeps in the men's house of the clan. He is not allowed to have sexual intercourse with his wife until the baby is weaned, a period of from nine months to two years. The strict observance of this custom is attested by the fact that siblings in Lau are almost without exception at least eighteen months apart. Thus the men's house complex, correlated with certain tabus, functions as a means of birth spacing and population control and of protecting maternal and infant health. Ritual continence was practiced in Lau on many occasions. Several methods of abortion were used, mainly by unmarried mothers. In Fulanga old people who had outlived their usefulness, according to native standards, were formerly abandoned on a small island in the lagoon. Where chieftainship was highly developed, those who broke tabus concerning the nobility were clubbed to death. Raiding between villages, in the course of which men, women and children were killed, was not infrequent in the group, and those who were captured, regardless of age or sex, were consumed by the victors at cannibalistic feasts. These are some of the Lauan practices which, together with accidents, hurricanes, disease, and a rate of infant and maternal mortality which was probably rather high, tended to limit the size of the population in relation to the available resources within the natural and cultural setting. Although in historic times Fijian population totals were greatly reduced, especially by the ravages of white man's diseases, the low point was reached at about 1911. Thereafter the trend has been slowly upward. The population of southern Lau gained 155 per 1,000 between 1921 and 1935.[9] At the time of the present field work, the population of the community was about 1,500.

Certain significant generalizations which grow out of the foregoing analysis may now be formulated.

We noted that in our island community a unique and balanced biotic system developed in isolation over a very long period of time and in the absence of large land animals. The advent of man, which occurred relatively late in the ecological developmental sequence, introduced not only a new species, namely *Homo sapiens*, into this natural community but also other fauna and flora, as well as the artifacts carried by man as part of his cultural equipment. Still more important, perhaps, it added human cultural processes to the fundamental ecological processes already operating in the area. In a relatively short time, from the eco-historical viewpoint, there emerged, on the basis of the ancient biotics, a new eco-cultural structure which involved plants, animals

[9] For details *see* Thompson, 1940a, p. 137.

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dered with shady bread-fruit trees and carpeted with beautifully kept short turf, we came suddenly in the darkness upon an avenue of living torch-holders, all seated cross-legged as a mark of respect, and holding aloft their flaring torches of tied up reeds. In each man's hand was a piece of broad banana leaf, hollowed to form a cup, and filled with sand, into which the dropping fiery fragments of the torch were caught. The dancing lights threw into strong relief the powerful features of the men, sitting silent as a row of graven images; while dimly in the shadows behind could be seen rows of spectators, men, women, and children, all silent and motionless until we reached the appointed spot, when, at a given signal by the chief, the deep *tama* was given by a hundred throats, a sound impossible to set down on paper, but not unlike a long-drawn exclamation, "o-o-a."

Taking our seats at one end of this double line, beneath a square canopy of bamboos and many-fronded palm leaves, we found that all was in readiness for the *Kawakawanua*, or ceremony. First of all appeared at the far end of the line a pair of very old men, facing us and kneeling side by side, and holding up on their folded arms a small oblong *tabakau*, or mat of woven coco-nut leaves. They then advanced, still on their knees, and in perfect time, progressing by a curious

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series of side or slanting paces, their bodies swaying in unison, and all in dead silence. When they reached us they deposited their burden at our feet, with a few, almost inaudible, words, and then retreated down the long line, still facing us, in the same manner as they had come. This part was called the *Rogo tabakau*, and signified that they had brought the *Draudrau ni Vanua*[1] as a sign that the representative of the Governor—and therefore of the King—held sway over all that had grown upon the land since the last visit. (The presentation of baskets of earth, to signify that the chief held sway over the actual soil itself, had been made to the first Governor forty years before, on the cession of the Colony to Great Britain, so there was no necessity to repeat this.)

Our *matapuli*[2] (or aide-de-camp or herald), then touched the *tabakau* in silence, the touch signifying his acceptance, on our behalf, of the emblem.

Then another white-bearded old man came along, also advancing on his knees, with upraised hands grasping a heavy stalk of large green coco-nuts, the nuts themselves, two in number, drooping over and suspended on his left shoulder. One nut represented the visiting chief, and the other the people of the land. He deposited these

[1] Literally, leaves of the land.
[2] This word is often used in old ceremonies in the Lau Islands instead of the Fijian word "mata ni vanua."

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in front of us, and then waited while the leading *matapuli* of the Nayau people came forward, and, sitting down, laid his hands on the nuts and made a little speech to us, asking that the great chief should excuse any faults he might see, and deal mercifully with the people and protect them as always.

Our *matapuli* then touched the offerings as usual, and spoke a few words in reply, saying that we accepted the offering and that we hoped the land would flourish and the people increase and prosper. This presentation of the nuts on their branch is always called *Ai Fono ni nona cudra*[1] or "the dam against his wrath"; in other words, a propitiatory gift.

The Nayau *matapuli* then came along, crouching, and bringing a number of ivory whales' teeth or *tabua*, heavy curved yellow tusks, each about nine inches long and supported from the two ends by a loop of dyed and twisted coco-nut fibre sinnet. These were offered with a few deprecatory sentences, speaking of "these insignificant teeth" in true Oriental style, though they are actually in this part of the Pacific the greatest gift it is possible to offer, and have an importance far above their intrinsic value. [In the old days the offer (and acceptance) of a *tabua* to a chief meant that any request accompanying it could

[1] "Bono" in Fijian.

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123 not well be refused, and might mean the cementing
514 of an alliance, or the request for a wife, or the
431 sacking of a rival town. Nowadays the presentation of them is purely a matter of ceremony. This part of the performance was called the *Qalovi*, and should properly have taken place while we were still on the water, the islanders swimming out to us carrying the *tabua*, but this is now seldom done.] Our *matapuli* took them up in token of acceptance and gazed at them for a moment in deep admiration, as etiquette demanded, and then made another short set speech, repeating his (or, rather, our) wishes that all should be well with the land.

After this two men staggered in bearing an enormous multi-branching root of green *Yaqona*[1] which they placed at our feet. Our *matapuli*
[201] here did the *vaka cobo*, or clapping of the hollowed hands cross-ways, as is always done where *Yaqona*
123 is concerned, and told the men to prepare a bowl
514 of the drink from it.
273 At this point the torches were extinguished, lanterns suspended from the trees, and the parallel lines of men automatically grouped themselves in a half-circle facing us, while an enormous round polished bowl, made of a single section of the *Vesi* tree, and decorated with hanging clusters

[1] Known as Kava or Hava in other parts of the Pacific; and with the drinking of which all important ceremonies must inevitably be connected.

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[p.106 is blank]

SOME LEGENDS OF THE EXPLORING ISLES.

I was examining a curious stone axe-head in the house of Adi Letila, a very old widow of chiefly rank, at Loma Loma town, when she looked up at me from the woven grass mats on which she was seated, and said, with that innate courtesy which no amount of "civilization" has yet dispelled from the Lau islanders, "It is yours, sir, if you desire to have so small a thing." Knowing that she would only feel hurt by refusal I accepted the gift—mentally resolving to send her some small present in return; and then sat down to have a chat with her. And so we talked of the days of old—the days when this axe-head had been used by her ancestors, or, perhaps, even her father—for so recent is the Stone Age in this race of cultured people among whom the mere absence of iron did not necessarily denote barbarism.

I asked her if she thought it was a good implement to hew out a canoe with, and she replied, with a smile on her still handsome old face, "No, sir;